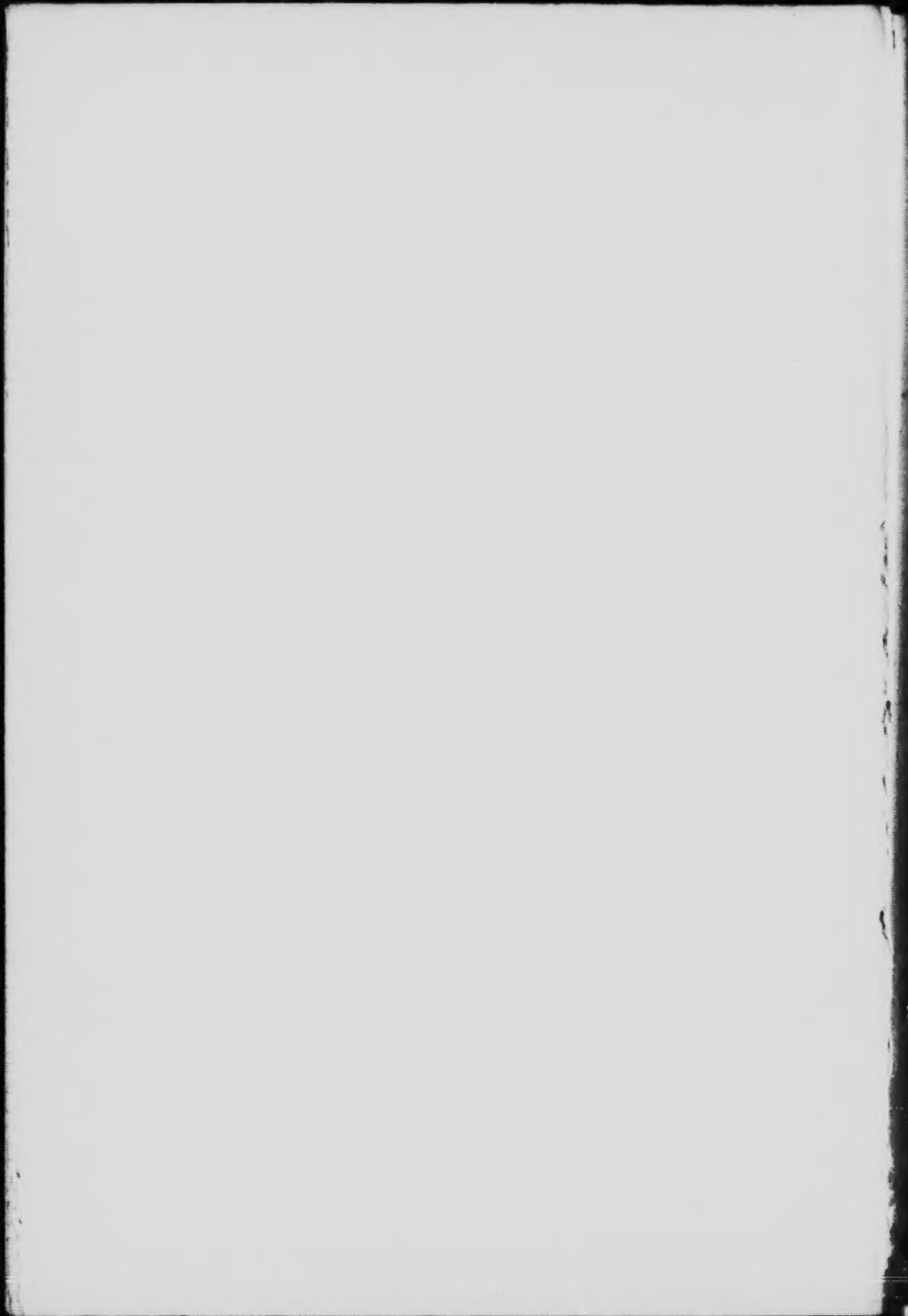


THE TRUTH ABOUT SPAIN



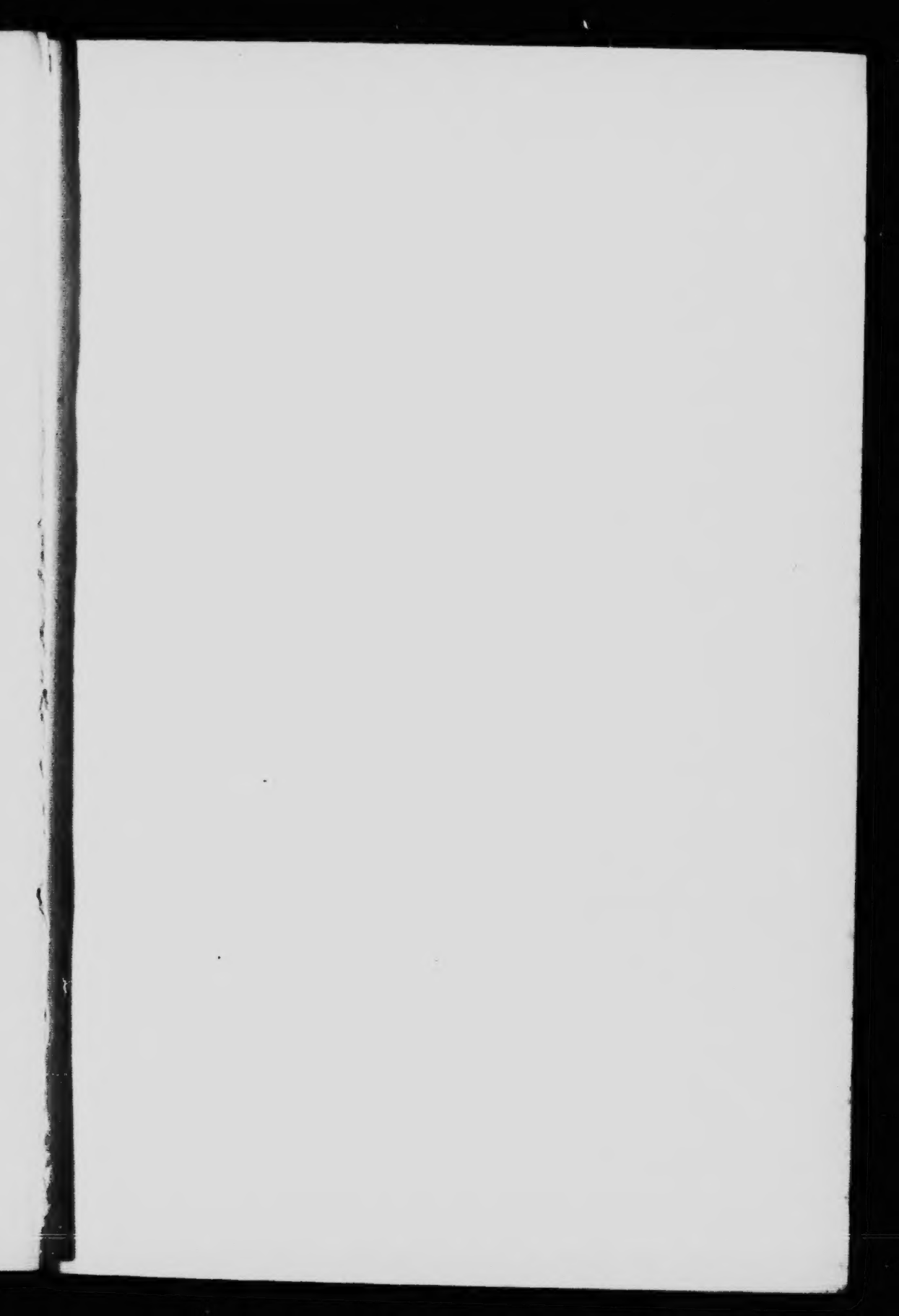




Photo. Babin

PRISONERS IN MONTJUICH FORTRESS

(21)

440.

THE TRUTH ABOUT SPAIN

BY

G. H. B. WARD

WITH 12 FULL-PAGE PLATES



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TO
MY WIFE
MY SISTER
AND
MY DEAREST SPANISH FRIEND



PREFACE

My interest in Spain and her affairs began years ago, when roving fancy led me to take a long holiday, and circumstances shortly afterwards brought me into close friendship with an eminent Spanish scholar, who has been the judicious and disinterested guide of my studies. It was not long before I was drawn into a serious examination of Iberia's political and social problems, and contact with reformers and publicists of various schools of thought, added to exceptional opportunities for acquainting myself with the periodical literature of the country, only served to confirm my early impressions.

My aim in the following pages is not to castigate individuals, who are to be regarded as symptoms rather than as causes, nor do I wish to toll a knell over a dead empire. My desire has been rather to point to the real causes of ills which have their roots in history, and which have been bequeathed as a dismal legacy to almost every Spanish-speaking people. Much that is significant seems to have escaped the eyes and ears of other observers, and English writers have fallen into grave, if excusable, misconceptions. Though I have but partly succeeded, I have striven earnestly to understand Spain. If I should appear to Spanish eyes

to have been betrayed at any point into English "prejudice" or "superiority," I can at least claim that I have erred unconsciously. Certainly I have not endeavoured to crowd my picture with darkest tones, nor have I given way to counsels of despair.

While my chief desire has been to throw light upon the Spanish problem for the benefit of English readers, I have desired also to encourage patriotic Spaniards in their endeavours to regenerate a nation which has played so great a part in history, and still holds so much interest and charm. The success of their efforts will constitute the real reward of my labours. For it was love of Spain and Spaniards that induced me to begin the task of writing this book, and it was my hope of helping on, in however small a measure, the great consummation that enabled me to triumph over difficulties and finish it.

My thanks are specially due to Señors Luis Morote, Luis Araquistain and Alejandro Lopez, who, at considerable trouble, furnished me with legal data which were at once indispensable and extremely difficult to obtain. Further, I must please myself by recognising the kindly assistance of Mr. G. Booler, Mr. R. S. Clough, Mr. J. Poole, Mr. O. M. Platts, Mr. F. Radford, and Miss A. Breckon, who in various ways have lightened my labours.

G. H. B. W.

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THE TRUTH ABOUT SPAIN

CHAPTER I

REVOLT AND REFORM

Influence of Spanish Queens—Mary Ann of Austria—Mary Louise and her Favourite, Manuel Godoy—Maria Cristina—Her Triumph over Espartero—Isabella II.—Her Foreign Wars and Reactionary Policy—Her Flight—The Constitution of 1869—Prince Amadeo of Savoy Accepts the Crown—His Abdication—Spain a Republic—Alfonso XII. Proclaimed King—The Carlists Suppressed—Maria Cristina becomes Regent—The “Drama of Montjuich”—Assassination of Canovas—“Alternating Parties”—Alfonso XIII. Comes of Age—His Marriage—Canalejas Forms a Government.

It is a noteworthy fact that the Queens of Spain have exercised considerable influence over the political events that have determined the gradual descent of the nation from the proud position which she occupied four hundred years ago, and have provoked a chronic condition of discontent and corruption. The decline which began under Philip III. (1598–1621) and Philip IV. (1621–1665) was accentuated during the Regency of the scandalous wife and widow of the latter monarch. This Queen, Mary Ann of Austria, on taking up the Regency, obedient to the caprice and desires of a German Jesuit monk, Father Neithard, allowed him so to abuse his position of “favourite” as to give rise to disturbances in Madrid and the pro-

vinces. When he was expelled the country, the Queen found another lover of like character, and her disgraceful conduct continued until after her son, Charles II. (1679-1700), had reached his majority; but the latter, a coward and a bigot, was incapable of counteracting his mother's disastrous influence.

However, the process of decay was arrested somewhat during the reigns of Philip V. (1701-1746) and Ferdinand VI. (1746-1759), whose Queens had little weight in public affairs. In the time of Charles III. (1759-1788) some progress was achieved, owing to the energy of the great Premier, Count de Aranda, who constructed canals, roads, and public buildings, besides promoting agriculture and fostering education; whilst he actually dared (1767) to decree the expulsion of the Jesuits, not only from Spain, but from all her vast possessions in Asia, Africa, and America. But the march downward was renewed and even accelerated in the following reign, of Charles IV. (1788-1819), or, rather, that of his wife, Mary Louise, and her favourite, Manuel Godoy. This adventurer became Prime Minister, and he and his royal mistress jointly ruled the destinies of Spain, after effecting the downfall of Count de Aranda. The King was so blind and the Queen so infatuated that at the close of the war with France (1795), which the favourite had provoked, the latter was decorated with the title of "Prince of the Peace," after having placed his name to the shameful Treaty of Basel. Later, when Godoy was threatened by Napoleon, the Queen, in order to save him, carried her docile husband into the alliance with France which

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ended in the Battle of Trafalgar (1805), when the maritime power of the kingdom was wiped out.

Another unfortunate Queen whose rule was of ill omen was the Neapolitan Maria Cristina, wife of Ferdinand VII. (1819-1833). She was entrusted with the Regency during the minority of her daughter Isabella II. (b. 1830). While the nation and the army were defending the throne, Isabella's mother never ceased to conspire with her camarilla against the Liberals in favour of the Moderates, notwithstanding that among the former were the most popular and most enlightened statesmen of the time, especially Mendizabal, the famous economist and democrat, who refilled the empty coffers of the Treasury, decreed the liberty of the Press, suppressed the conventual and monastic Orders, and carried out the disamortisation of Church properties. Despite these facts, the Queen Regent displaced the Liberals in the interests of the Moderates whenever she felt their services could be dispensed with, under the advice of her favourites, including the soldier Muñoz (whom she finally married) and a number of priests and friars who were so detested by the people that, three months before the decree of Mendizabal (October, 1835), there was a general burning of convents which, beginning in Barcelona, extended throughout the provinces until only 3,140 religious establishments were left; these were sold publicly in February, 1836.

Maria Cristina's partiality for the reactionaries, in addition to popular revolts evoked numerous military *pronunciamientos*. In one of these manifestoes (1841)

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General Espartero was proclaimed Regent by both people and army, and the Queen, after swearing that she had not secretly married Muñoz, emigrated with her lover, and from her place of retirement began to conspire against the new Regent. A Republican and Separatist revolution in Barcelona, and popular risings in Valencia, Andalusia, and Galicia on behalf of a more Radical policy than that adopted by Espartero, favoured the plans of Maria Cristina. With money supplied by the French King, Louis Philippe, her agents bought over several generals, and the leader of the reaction, General Narvaez, easily overthrew Mendizabal. Espartero took refuge in England, where he was welcomed as the champion of Spanish liberty. Queen Victoria received him with evident esteem, and the freedom of the City of London was conferred on him during 1843.

Queen Maria Cristina's triumph was due to an extraordinary chain of circumstances, but her supporters, fully recognising that the restoration of the mistress of Muñoz was impossible, organised a counter-revolution, and a hurriedly-elected Parliament enacted the majority of the young Queen Isabella at an earlier than the customary age.

Unhappily, Isabella II. began her public career with everything against her. Headstrong, hot-tempered, warm-blooded, indifferently educated, precocious, the licentious life led by her mother—which she had closely observed—seemed to her laudable rather than loathsome. She soon lost whatever sense of morality and self-respect she once had, and her

dissolute behaviour ultimately brought about her downfall. She was so completely the slave of her disposition that she not only manifested it in public business, but allowed it to sway the exercise of the royal prerogative in an arbitrary and capricious solution even of the most serious political crises.*

One need not go into details of this melancholy reign; suffice it to relate that in the Manifesto of Cadiz, published on the eve of revolution by the poet, Lopez de Ayala, who, later, was Conservative Minister under the son of Isabella II., the most celebrated and at the same time perfectly just clause of the document ran: "In future we wish to be able to speak of the causes of Ministerial crises in the hearing of our wives and daughters."

Apart from the disaffection caused by her own conduct and the blood constantly shed in civil strife—for which, of course, the Carlists were equally to

* It must be remembered that even to-day the Spanish monarch has the power both to dissolve a Ministry, under a plea of no confidence, and to nominate the head of the new Cabinet. The Constitution of 1876 still retains this condition. Articles 32, 33, 41, 44, 48, 50, 51 and 54 provide that the Cortes shall meet every year, that the King shall convoke, suspend, or close their sessions, and dissolve, simultaneously or separately, both Congress and Senate; and that the Cortes shall be convened the moment the Crown is declared vacant, or whenever the King is unable to perform the duties of his office. The King and each of the legislative bodies possess the initiative of legislation. If either House throw out a project of law, or the King withhold his sanction, no proposal dealing with the same subject can be reintroduced during the life of that Parliament. The King's person is inviolable. The power of executing laws is vested in him, and his authority is extended to all that concerns the preservation of public order in the country and security abroad. The King also sanctions and promulgates all laws of the realm, and issues decrees, regulations, and instructions pertaining to the carrying out of the laws.

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blame—Isabella II.'s foreign wars completed her unpopularity and ruin. In 1847 Portugal was invaded by a Spanish army with the object of crushing the Oporto revolutionaries. The Portuguese were easily repulsed, but the spectacle of Spain's intervening to establish public peace within a neighbouring country, while her own internal affairs were in constant disorder, was as ridiculous as it was disgusting. An expedition to Italy, dispatched to assist the Pope, who had been expelled from Rome by the people, became even more ludicrous, since, before the Spanish troops could arrive, a French army had already been entrusted with the task of destroying the Roman Republic and restoring the Temporal Power (1849). Another useless campaign was that of Melilla, which brought promotion to numerous officers, but neither credit nor increase of territory to Spain (1868). The Mexican expedition would have ended calamitously—as it ended to France and Maximilian—had not the troops of General Prim hurriedly returned home (1862). More shameful than these was the adventure of San Domingo, which, in 1861, sought re-annexation to Spain. The Government, instead of treating the islanders as Spanish subjects, sent an army and a cloud of functionaries; the island was treated as a conquered country, taxation was increased, and the people were actually refused representation in the Spanish Parliament. In 1863 the Dominicans revolted, and finally recovered their independence (1865), after Spain had lost 10,000 men and expended twenty million dollars. The treatment of San Domingo was suicidal, and Spain received her just reward. In the same

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year (1865) she was involved in a conflict with Chile and Peru, in which Admiral Mendez Nuñez ineffectually bombarded Valparaiso and Callao, and the Chilians captured the gunboat *Virgen de Covadonga*, an event which caused so much rejoicing in Chile and Peru, and chagrin amongst the Spaniards, that Admiral Pareja committed suicide.

Ingratitude towards the Liberals, who had made so many sacrifices to save the throne from Absolutists who defended the rights of the Legitimist Pretender, Don Carlos, constituted a third reason for Isabella's fall. The Queen's reactionary tendencies were constantly in evidence, and provoked numerous protests and even revolutions. In 1846 there was the first military movement of a Liberal character in Galicia, and during 1848 popular risings in Seville and Madrid were smothered in blood by General Narvaez. The same year witnessed Republican activities in Catalonia; there were military *pronunciamientos* in 1854, 1856 and 1860; while Republican and Socialist disturbances in 1861, at Loja, Utrera and Malaga, were cruelly suppressed. Finally, the rebellions of Madrid, Barcelona and Saragossa, in 1866-1867, paved the way for the triumphant Revolution of September, 1868.

The overthrow of repeated insurrections appeared to have convinced Isabella II. that the throne was permanently secure. But in 1868, at the outbreak of the Revolution—of which the civil leaders were Sagasta, Ruiz Zorrilla, Lopez de Ayala, supported by the people, the military chiefs General Prim and Marshal Serrano (Duke de la Torre), and Admiral Topete, aided by the

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major portion of the Army and all the Navy—she began to realise the gravity of the situation, and sacrificed Gonzalez Bravo, her favourite and Minister. She formed a Ministry under General José de la Concha, the Marquis of Havana, who divided the command of the loyal section of her army with his brother Manuel, Marquis of the Duero, and Generals Cheste, Novaliches and Calonge.

The armies met at the bridge of Alcolea on September 29th, 1868, General Serrano commanding the revolutionaries and Novaliches the Royalists. The latter commander was seriously wounded, and his men struggled listlessly, many of them passing over to the rival force. The revolutionaries, on the other hand, flung themselves into the battle to the magnetic cry of "España con honra! —" Spain with honour!"—and gained a complete victory, and, on the following day, Isabella fled to France, where Napoleon III. offered her sumptuous hospitality.

The triumph of Alcolea awakened enthusiasm throughout Spain, and facilitated the temporary union of the advanced parties. A provisional Coalitionist Government was constituted under the Presidency of Serrano. General Prim was Minister of War; Admiral Topete accepted the portfolio of Marine (Admiralty); Sagasta became Minister of the Interior; Ruiz Zorrilla undertook Education; Lopez de Ayala went to the Colonial Office; whilst the Radical journalist Lorenzana acted as Minister of Foreign Affairs. The programme of the Cabinet was based upon universal suffrage, the liberty and right of association and of public meeting,

a free Press, free education, liberty of conscience, with promises of reforms in Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines.

The Government, however, created, among those who had seen in the defeat of Isabella the advent of a Republic, disappointment and dismay, by announcing itself anti-dynastic, but, at the same time, monarchical—with a monarch from some other royal family! The union was therefore broken, and an impassioned struggle set in between Royalists and Republicans. The latter acquired great strength from the moment they declared for Federalism, since differences of character, origin, and, in some cases, of language, made principles of decentralisation (whether termed Federalist, Autonomous or Nationalist) very popular in almost all parts of the country.

The contest gave rise to severe convulsions. Blood ran freely in many towns and cities in Catalonia and Andalusia, and a campaign was inaugurated against the Royalist candidates. Meanwhile, a Constituent Assembly was convoked, and a Commission selected to draft a new Constitution. The elections, in accordance with precedent, were manipulated by Government, and a Ministerial (or Liberal Monarchist) majority was "returned." Seventy Federalist Republicans, however, were elected, demonstrating that an open election would probably have resulted in a Republican majority.

The Constitution of 1869 was democratic, if Monarchical. Although it was carried by a majority of 159, the Moderates were dissatisfied because of its Radical and anti-clerical character, whilst the Republicans were

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opposed to its dynastic basis. Its promulgation was the signal for mutinies in Seville, Malaga, Saragossa and Valencia. The Republicans organised strong revolutionary committees (or Juntas), and began active propagandism with famous orators, such as Orense, Pi y Margall, Figueras, Salmeron and Castelar, supported by Generals Pierrad, Ferrer and Contreras. The Federalists gave manifest proof of their power at the end of September, 1869, when an armed force of 45,000 men rebelled, and General Prim was compelled to mobilise the whole army in order to conquer the rising, much blood being shed in Castile, Aragon, Galicia, Valencia, Andalusia and Catalonia.

With a view to assuaging the widespread discontent, the provisional Liberal Government, in 1870, tendered the Crown to General Espartero, but the old warrior declined the honour, with the approval of a considerable proportion of the people. His refusal left the position full of complications. It was next determined to approach a Prussian prince, but this project was abandoned owing to the opposition of France. At last, after a search throughout Europe, the throne was offered to Victor Emmanuel's son, Prince Amadeo of Savoy, who accepted the thankless position.

When Amadeo arrived in Spain his chief supporter, General Prim, had already been assassinated in the streets of Madrid; but the King tried to make himself popular, and supported his Radical Ministry, and especially the democratic reforms of Ruiz Zorrilla. Though the Republicans declared honest war against Amadeo, the reactionary elements made his life im-

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possible. The "ladies" of high society constantly rebuffed his virtuous and beautiful wife, and insulting songs were sung in the fashionable clubs of Madrid about the "macaroni king." The parliamentary struggle further obscured the situation. Serrano, Topete, Sagasta, Ruiz Zorrilla and Malcampo had each their separate groups of followers, and each Ministry was overthrown in turn by rival factions. In vain the King tried to induce Espartero to take his place, and after several colourless Cabinets had fallen, Ruiz Zorrilla (June, 1872) formed a homogeneous Radical Government in which Martos, Montero Rios, Gasset, and the great poet and scientist, José de Echegaray, held office. Its programme was so advanced that the Republicans gave it their support to avert its overthrow by the Moderate Liberals under Sagasta. The Government obtained a considerable majority at the ensuing elections, but the situation was complicated by the appearance of Carlist revolutionaries in the North and Republican bands in Galicia and Andalusia. Finally, the officers of artillery, reactionaries to a man, resigned *en masse* rather than accept General Hidalgo, a strong Radical, as their commander. Meanwhile the King, conscious of these *contretemps*, and of the insulting treatment he had received, declared that he was not desirous of being a further cause of division among Spaniards, and nobly resigned his crown on February 10th, 1873, leaving the country, accompanied by the respect and admiration of all sincere men.

Deputies and Senators, meeting in the National Assembly, proclaimed the Spanish Republic on February 11th, 1873, by 258 votes against 32. The Ministry

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consisted of five Republicans and four Radicals. Figueras was Prime Minister and President; Pi y Margall, the philosopher, was Minister of the Interior; Emilio Castelar went to the Foreign Office; Nicolas Salmeron, the lawyer, accepted the portfolio of Justice, and his brother Francisco was Colonial Minister. The four Radical Monarchist Ministers who had formed part of the late Administration, and now entered the new Cabinet, were Echegaray (Exchequer), Becerra, the tribune (Education), General Cordova (War), and Admiral Beranger (Marine). The astute Martos was selected for the position of Speaker. It was a Government composed of brilliant personalities, and their nomination produced great rejoicings, which, however, were short-lived, as it soon became evident that the Radical Ministers were not in favour of a Federal form of rule and Constitution, although it was plainly impossible to impose a centralised Republic on a country full of Federal Committees, and with Figueras, the Parliamentary leader of the Federal Party, at the head of the Government.

Elections were announced for a Constituent Assembly, but Figueras committed the grave error of accepting a proposition of Martos to nominate a permanent Parliamentary Commission, which was to be endowed with great powers of control. The new Parliament commanded an enormous Republican majority, in which there was only one "Unitarian" Republican, the rest being Federalists. There were two Royalists, termed Alfonsists. A Republic was formally declared by 210 votes against 2, and a solid Federal Government

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was instituted under the Presidency of Pi y Margall. Conflict followed immediately. The Government and Assembly consisted of Federalists and the Parliamentary Commission were "Unitarians," or advocates of centralised power as opposed to Federal control. The latter paralysed the efforts of the Ministry and nullified the aspirations of the people. The clash of opposing opinions soon passed from Parliament into the provinces. In Carthagena and other Andalusian towns, Federal Cantons were proclaimed, although the Government had not sanctioned them. It is probable that the Federal insurrectionaries were really the true legalists; but these outbreaks, coupled with Carlist uprisings, disturbances and rebellions in Cuba, and the intrigues of the "Unitarians"—to whom Castelar afterwards allied himself—made the life of the Republic precarious, if not, indeed, impossible.

Carthagena successfully resisted the Government until after the Republic had fallen. This seaport was admirably defended by the people, under Antonio Galvez, and a part of the army, commanded by Generals Contreras and Ferrer. The fleet had also made common cause with the Federalists.

Meantime, Cabinet crises arose in Madrid. First Figueras and Margall, then Nicolas Salmeron and Emilio Castelar, took the Presidential chair. The latter demanded a Dictatorship, in order that he might reform the Army, combat the Carlists, and subdue the Cantonalist insurrectionaries of Carthagena. The insurgent war vessels were declared pirate ships, and were seized by foreign cruisers, under the consent of the Government.

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After the Dictatorship was ended, the Cortes re-assembled on January 2nd, 1874. The majority, weary of his Conservative tendencies, passed a vote of censure upon Castelar and prepared to nominate a Federal Government invested with powers to establish a federation of Spanish provinces, under a constitution similar to that of the Swiss Cantons. Had this step been possible, it probably would have saved the country and the Republic. The climax came when General Pavia, to whom Castelar had entrusted the military command in Madrid, entered the Congress and expelled the Deputies by force. Thus the Republic perished after an inglorious career of nearly twelve months.

The Government formed by Pavia's *coup d'état* was only a government in name, and the Republicans did not appear to fear its powers. Castelar declined the Premiership, and, for the moment, the wily and audacious Pavia was master of Spain ; but he could not rule alone. Serrano now consented to form a Cabinet, but only one solitary "Unitarian" (Garcia Ruiz) was allowed to represent Republican sentiment. Zavala, Martos, Sagasta, and other Ministers were Monarchists, and in reality had never been anything else. Their temporary acceptance of office in former Republican Cabinets was only a point of high policy, and a recognition of the untoward circumstances of the moment. The Republic having been overthrown, what need was there to form an amphibious government ? The obvious policy was to call upon Alfonso XII. to accept the crown, and thus reinstate the fallen dynasty. The solution was so logical that when, in December, 1874, after a year of Carlist

insurrections and internal struggles for power between Serrano, Zavala, Martos and Sagasta, General Martinez Campos proclaimed, at Sagunto, the son of Isabella II., Alfonso XII., King of Spain, the Army and a great portion of the civil element accepted him forthwith.

The new King authorised the Alfonsist leader, Don Antonio Canovas del Castillo, to form the first Ministry of the Restoration. The rapidity with which the Government was constituted, and the ready appointment of provincial civil and military Governors, showed that the Declaration of Sagunto was only the culminating phase of a vast conspiracy, in which the principal part was played by Primo de Rivera, Captain-General of Madrid, who thus light-heartedly threw over the Republican Government which, in the previous year, had reposed in him its confidence.

Canovas' first Ministry included such reactionaries as Jovellar, Molins, Romero Robledo and Cardenas, and exercised practically despotic power. Parliament did not meet, and the freedom of the Press and public meeting and the right of association were almost completely suppressed.

Sagasta placed himself at the head of a strong Liberal Monarchist party. The Carlists continued their guerilla warfare, and from their mountain fastnesses committed fearful outrages and murders. The Republicans fell to pieces and formed three distinct groups—Federalists, led by Pi y Margall; Progressives, under Ruiz Zorrilla, ever ready to organise a revolution; and the Possibilist Moderates, who acknowledged Castelar. The Ultramontanes, a number of Moderate Liberals and some

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Carlists joined Canovas, mainly in consequence of the Papal blessing on Spain's restored dynasty.

In the early part of 1876, Canovas ordered a General Election, in which the Deputies were not elected by the people, but selected by Romero Robledo, the Home Secretary, who proved himself an arch-jobber in "cooking" Spanish election procedure. Only two Republican candidates were authorised to be elected—Castelar and another Possibilist—along with forty "approved" followers of Sagasta. All the rest were Conservatives—a party which, in the sole free and sincere election that Spain had yet enjoyed (1873), could only return two M.P.s, Romero Robledo and Jove-y-Hevia, who was, later, made Viscount of Campo-Grande.

February 28th, 1876, is a memorable date in Spanish modern history. It marked the termination of sanguinary civil wars provoked by the Carlists. On that day the conqueror of the last of the Absolutist bands, Martinez Campos, caused the Pretender, Don Carlos, to make a hurried flight across the French frontier, whilst the Alfonsist troops, amid immense jubilation, made their triumphal procession through the streets of Madrid.

In March of the same year, Canovas, encouraged by his good fortune and the termination of internecine strife, presented a new Constitution—fifteen months after the King had accepted the crown—in substitution of that adopted by the Revolutionaries of 1869. It marked a considerable retrogression. Universal suffrage and trial by jury were suppressed; the rights of meeting and association were limited; Press liberties were

curtailed; the functions of town councils were restricted; the Catholic faith was declared the exclusive State religion; liberty of belief was asserted, provided it were strictly private and no public manifestations connected with it were held. The Catholic bishops denounced the paragraph sanctioning this illusory freedom of Dissent, but the clause was carried by 221 votes against 81.

Two years after the close of the Carlist War, General Martinez Campos ended the conflict in Cuba, less by force of arms than by generous concessions outlined in the Treaty of Zanjón (February 2nd, 1878). When he returned to Spain, however, Canovas received him with signs of apparent friendship, but with the real intent of destroying his enormous popularity. With this object Canovas resigned and induced Campos to form a Conservative Government for the purpose of carrying out his Cuban reforms. During the discussion Campos became aware of the miserable fact that all his Ministers—in Spain there is a Cabinet of nine—save Albacete (his Colonial Minister), in obedience to Canovas, had behaved perfidiously. This subtle episode of Spanish politics was the origin of the last Cuban War and its appalling results.

Martinez Campos, anxious to keep faith with the Cubans, quarrelled with Canovas, and went over to Sagasta and the Liberal Party. A few old-fashioned Conservatives followed him, amongst them Posada Herrera, Generals Jovellar and Balmaceda, and the Count of Xiquena. This party gained popularity by offering to restore some of the liberties taken away by

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the Conservatives, and, under threat of rebellion, organised by several generals who had supported Campos, the King entrusted Sagasta with the formation of a Ministry in which Campos became Minister of War (1881). However, although some reforms and expansion of liberty were conceded, Government failed to carry out its promises, and there ensued a Republican and Socialist agitation, which culminated in the occupation of Jerez for twenty-four hours by an army of labourers, who took possession of the city with the cry of "Long live Anarchy!" The repression was terrible; there were numerous executions, and the details of the trials demonstrated that the situation of the Andalusian agricultural labourers and peasants was worse than that of slaves, and that in certain Andalusian prisons inquisitorial proceedings were employed and confessions extracted by torture. The trials had scarcely terminated when there was a serious military rebellion in Badajoz, and another in Seo de Urgel, both organised from Paris by Ruiz Zorrilla and his secretary, Francisco Ferrer.

Sagasta's Moderate leanings led to the formation of a Radical dynastic party, composed partly of old Republicans, and when, in October, 1883, he resigned, the King entrusted the quondam Conservative, Posada Herrera—now a Radical—with the formation of a new democratic Cabinet, in which Segismundo Moret, Lopez Dominguez, Sardoal, and Linares Rivas accepted portfolios. Marshal Serrano was elected President of the Senate, and Sagasta became Speaker of the Cortes. But the Sagastan majority overthrew the Ministry in

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three months, and Canovas returned to power in January, 1884. Thus within three short months there had been a *volte-face*, from Liberal Moderates to Extreme Left, and then to Extreme Right, without any appeal to the people! The new Cortes supported Canovas. There were 306 reactionary Ministerialists, 45 Sagastan Liberals, 26 Serrano Democrats, and 3 Castelar Republicans. The Federalists, the Zorrilla Republicans, and the Carlists took no part in the contests, as a protest against the Government's immoral election procedure.

King Alfonso XII. died in November, 1885, at the early age of 28 years. During his eleven years' reign Canovas had been in power for nearly nine years.

Alfonso XII. left two daughters, but in May the Queen, Maria Cristina, gave birth to a posthumous son who was proclaimed King with the name of Alfonso XIII. His mother became Regent, and henceforth exercised a disastrous influence in Spanish politics. Her pronounced Ultramontanism rendered her extremely unpopular. Though she was neither loved nor respected, because of her attributes as an ex-abbess, her Austrian origin, and her protection of the Jesuits, it is fair to say that she was an excellent mother. But whatever qualities she possessed as a woman were submerged in the absolutism of her race. The spirit of her rule recalled the darkest days of the Church. Many years afterwards, *El Progreso*, a Barcelona Republican daily, in an article on the causes of the national misfortunes in its issue for March 10th, 1910, speaking of the Queen-Mother, said:—

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" She left a convent to continue the history of Spain, that Spain of the Austrias which has been made great, as are pits and excavations, by losing earth and territory, in Quevedo's witty phrase. . . .

" Yesterday she was, and to-day is, the most powerful and most feared influence in Spanish politics. She makes and unmakes men, she intrigues and conspires. She is sagacious and astute. She moves in the shade. Political euphemism hides her presence ; the moral cowardice of politicians is her defence, their timidity is her protection.

" During her Regency, except for a few brief intervals when Sagasta assumed office, Canovas was almost constantly in power, and both clericals and Bishops wielded unlimited influence. During this period, Spain suffered the greatest catastrophes recorded since the reign of Ferdinand VII. The loss of the Philippines would not have occurred if the rule of the monks and friars had been ended by the home government.* If autonomy had been conceded to it, Cuba would

* The legalised murder of José Rizal, the great Tagal patriot, was one of the culminating episodes of the Philippine insurrection. General Camilo Polavieja was sent to the Philippines to replace the humane General Blanco, in consequence of a telegram dispatched to the Queen-Mother by Father Nozaleda, Archbishop of Manila, and the Superiors of the Philippine convents, who declared that Blanco lacked energy in his repressive tactics. Polavieja—like General Weyler, who took over the Cuban command from General Martinez Campos—was sent expressly for the purpose of waging merciless war upon the insurrectionists. Dr. José Rizal was adored by the Tagal race, above all after the publication of his famous "*Noli me tangere*"—a work which exposed the immorality and greed of the Philippine religious communities. Educated in Germany, and residing in Berlin, he determined, against the advice of his friends, to return to the Islands. But since, apart from his writings, he had not taken part in the insurrection, he refused their counsels and declared his confidence in the justice of the Spanish authorities. Fatal error ! As soon as Rizal placed himself within Spanish jurisdiction he was arrested and, after many vicissitudes, Polavieja had him condemned to death by court-martial. His sisters begged for mercy, and threw themselves at the feet of the General. But all was in vain, and Rizal, walking with firm step to his execution, refused to kneel and died a martyr's death, with "*Consummatus est* "

have remained a Spanish possession, and wise, ample and long overdue concessions to that rich colony would have averted the war with the United States. The denial of them precipitated the war, and made the loss of Cuba almost inevitable, as also that of Porto Rico and the Philippines. And what must be said of the many millions of dollars spent, the two fleets sunk in the waters of Cavite and Santiago, besides the thousands of lives that were thrown away? And all because Spain would not learn her lesson, but continued to regard her colonies as a financial perquisite of Rome, ruled from Madrid, and robbed by her officials, as though a modern colony could be treated, in these days, like a milch cow, and be beaten like an insentient mule. Maria Cristina and her henchman Canovas sowed the wind, and verily the nation has reaped the whirlwind."

Naturally, there were, during the Regency, many public disturbances, often provoked by the Republicans, or by Anarchists and Socialists. They were always quelled in blood. The most revolting of them all was the infamous "Drama of Montjuich" (1896-1897). In that grim fortress and its vile cells were several hundred prisoners, and tortures were applied to many innocent men who were, later, absolved by the military tribunals. Flesh was burnt with hot irons, bare bodies were brutally beaten and indescribably tortured, finger nails and toe nails were torn out, and a mechanical skull-cap compressed the cranium and destroyed the

upon his lips, while the troops cried "Long live Polavieja and the Catholic religion!" The execution of Rizal caused all hesitating Tagals instantly to fling themselves into open insurrection, and sealed the fate of the Islands. Father Nozaleda was compelled to resign his Archbishopric when the United States took possession. Shortly afterwards he was offered the Archbishopric of Valencia, but the outcry in Spain was such that the ex-dictator of the Philippines was compelled to decline promotion.

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lips, and all to extort confession of guilt before trial! Many went mad, others died shortly afterwards, two of them (Alfredo Rugiero and Juan Ventura) in London, and one (Francisco Callis), unable to support life any longer under the legacy of suffering from Montjuich, threw himself out of a house window into the street below, as recently as February 26th, 1910. Thousands of citizens followed the martyr's body to its last resting-place in Barcelona's civil cemetery.

Canovas, the chief person responsible for these tortures, was killed, on August 8th, 1897, by a young Italian anarchist named Angiolillo, who declared that he had resolved to give his life to avenge the martyrs of Montjuich. He went smiling to the scaffold, uttering only one word, "Germinal." To his many defects Canovas united brilliant personal qualities which enabled him to hold the leadership of his party for so many years, and thus reduce his dissentient colleagues, Romero Robledo and Silvela, to a position of impotency. After his death his party split into fragments, and the demise of Sagasta, a few years later (1903), caused a similar *contretemps* in the ranks of Liberal leaders. From 1893 to 1899 four Liberal and Conservative Ministries "alternated" in office, and during that period Parliament scarcely sat twelve months, or an average of about two months each year. This system of "alternating parties," which was a flagrant flouting of public rights, and was connived at by both Canovas and Sagasta, ceased before the King attained his majority in 1905.

The proclamation of Alfonso XIII.'s coming-of-age

did not materially affect the political situation, as the Queen-Mother still held the reins. It was believed that his marriage (May 31st, 1906) with Princess Ena of Battenberg would put an end to the tutelage of Maria Cristina, but, contrary to expectations, the young Queen apparently accepted the posture of affairs; at any rate she has not succeeded in inducing the King to regard at least some of the usages which have endeared to the British people their Royal Family. After abjuring her religion for that of her husband, the Queen Consort rapidly assimilated the customs of the Spanish Court, and even attended bull-fights and distributed prizes to the winners of pigeon-shooting matches. Nevertheless, she is not popular with the ultra-Clericals. Indeed, for a period it seemed as if things would lapse into a state of chaos. The attempt at revolution in Barcelona (1909) threw a lurid light on public discontent, and the execution of Francisco Ferrer in the moat of Montjuich in the same year startled the whole world and renewed the cry of "Rome and Repression" throughout the country. It was significant, too, that until quite recently nearly all progressive legislation was to the credit of Conservative Governments, whilst the Liberals passed retrogressive measures, of which the worst was Moret's Law of Jurisdictions (1905). Meanwhile the nation, not wholly speechless if unrepresented, had not exchanged King Log for King Stork, for instead of the strong hands of Canovas and Sagasta, it had to put up with almost quarterly public washing-days, with a succession of in-and-out Cabinets, such as the Conservative Ministries of Silvela, Azcarraga, Villaverde, and Maura, and

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Liberals of the stamp of Montero Rios, Vega Armijo, Lopez Dominguez and Moret.

But, lowering as the clouds had been, they had a silver lining, for in February, 1910, an event occurred which may regenerate Spanish politics and redeem the people. The King seemed to have broken with the ugly and discredited past, and took into his confidence Don José Canalejas, since the days of Pi y Margall the only prominent politician who had listened to the voice of conscience, and who preferred principle to power. He is the man upon whom the eyes of Spain are fixed, and who proposes to "Europeanize" Iberian politics by relying upon the constitutional practices and timely concessions to public opinion which are the pride and strength of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

CHAPTER II

THE ART AND CRAFT OF CACIQUISM

The Term—Definitions—The "Curse of Spain"—Maura's Exposition of Caciquism—His Remedy—Testimony from Professors and from Count de Torre Velez—The System of Alternating Parties—Political Corruption—Significance of the Elections of 1909—Sinister Influence of the Clergy—"Making" Elections.

WHEN Columbus set sail from the land of orange groves and, on August 3rd, 1492, was the first European to tread on American soil, he not only discovered a new world, but found a new word, destined in the fullness of time to be of evil omen to the land of his adoption. Having parleyed with the Caciques, or native chiefs of Hayti and San Salvador, he introduced this word, in all innocence, into the Spanish language, where it now remains, perverted and debased, the mark of Spain's shame. The Caciques were despots who, at a sign, a glance, or a word, disposed of the lives of their subjects.

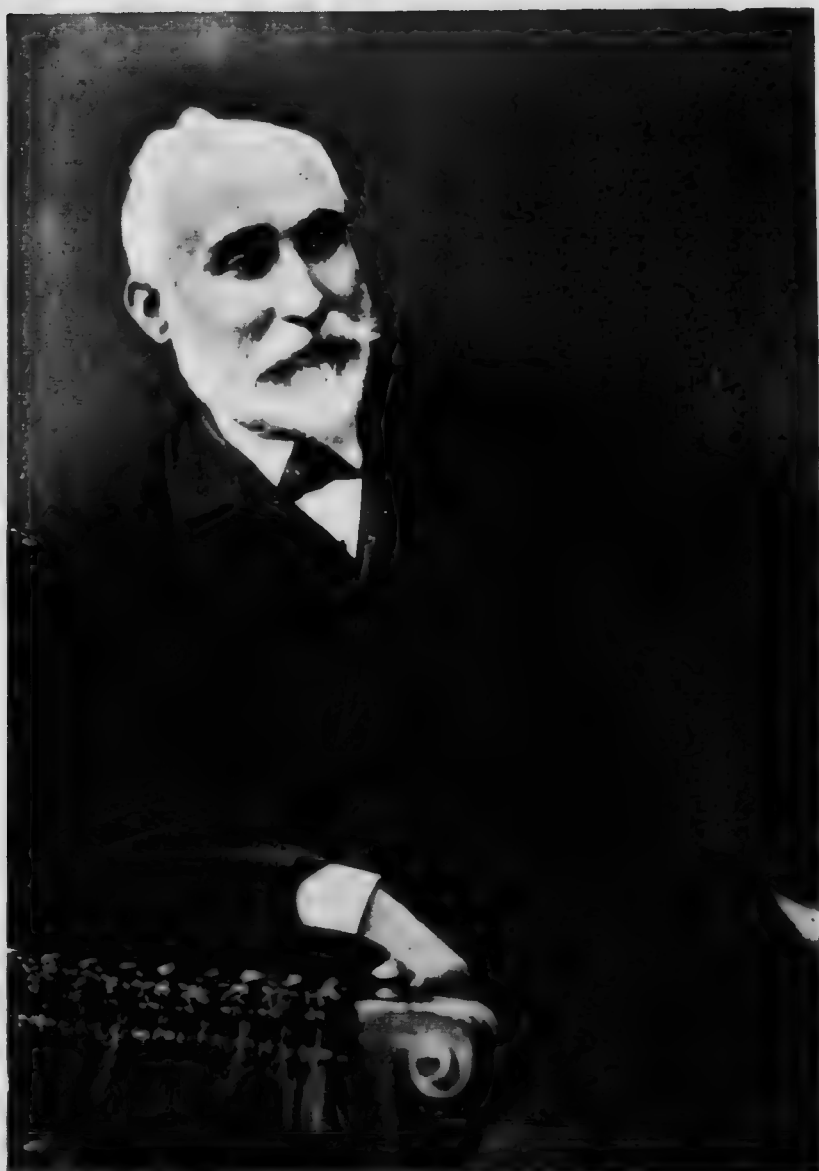
According to the dictionary published by the Madrid Athenæum—which was founded in 1835, and is the highest literary and intellectual circle in Spain—the word "Caciquismo" means "excessive influence of Caciques over the people," while "Cacique" is defined as "a lord of vassals, or a superior in a province or Indian village"; "any of the principal persons in a community who exercises undue influence in political

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or administrative affairs." The definition of the word given by Judge Frera in "Oligarchy and Caciquism," however, is more incisive and more characteristic. He defines it as "the personal rule which is exercised in communities, and which, by means of political influence, twists or corrupts the proper functions of State, and subordinates them to the selfish interests of factions, or certain individuals."

Present-day Caciquism is New York "Tammany" and political "Bossism." It buys and sells, manœuvres behind the law, and defies the Statute-book; but, besides controverting the exercise and expression of public conscience, it is also the relentless weapon of social tyranny and semi-barbarism. It owes its existence to the subjection of local self-government, communal life and administration, to the high hand of governmental centralisation, and Cabinets, whether Liberal or Conservative, rely upon it to raise them into power. "Alternating parties" is a household word of opprobrium in the land.

Yet Spain is a constitutional country. In 1890 Sagasta passed a law giving to nearly every male citizen of twenty-five years the right to vote. To some degree this measure enfranchised the cities; but Government majorities are raised by rural returns obtained, not through the ballot-box, but by the vote-rigging of "bosses" and their satellites, who thwart the public will and dominate local life. The system perpetuates servility, stifles social ambitions, atrophies law, gives licence to caprice and intolerance, opposes educational advance, and drives the man of enthusiastic and generous



10-10: Franco, Madrid

SEÑOR MAURA, CONSERVATIVE LEADER
Twice Premier

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temperament into the ranks of red revolution. Caciquism is the brand of Spain's social and moral backwardness, and accounts for her impotence in the Councils of the Nations. It is her legacy to her lost colonies,* and the chief cause of their separation from the Motherland. It is the curse of Spain.

In the circumstances, the considered opinions of men of weight and authority will carry more value than any mere personal views, and appeal will therefore be made to the standard work on the subject, Don Joaquin Costa's "Oligarchy and Caciquism," compiled for the Madrid Athenæum. Let us hear, then, the testimony of Don Antonio Maura, who has twice held the high and honourable office of Prime Minister on the Conservative side.

"It is traditional in Spain," writes Señor Maura, "that public power is neither desired nor exercised in order to protect right, ensure justice, encourage culture, foment prosperity, and guide the life of the people. Endeavours to employ aright the constitutional functions of Government have always been ephemeral, incidental, and promptly frustrated or suffocated. The various programmes and forms of organisation and method (whether turbulent, peaceful, or both) resorted to to obtain office, never depart from the perennial and systematic propensity to replace right by arbitrary measures, and justice and good example by the sordid domination of a political party which, in its turn, imposes itself upon the country.

"Beneath the false frame of the Constitution there is a big Cacique—the editor of the official *Gazette*,† and distributor of the spoils. The fight to obtain possession of this instru-

* Spanish America, from Cuba to Mexico, from Venezuela to Argentina and Chile, still suffers from the system.

† The real editor is the Prime Minister.

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ment of predominance with a view to subjugate the other parties is the sole and common vocation of political bodies, not excepting the most extreme. There is systematic sedition in the name of order; violence and proscription in the name of liberty; . . . the cream of democracy organising behind the back doors of barracks in Pretorian rebellion; every imaginable form of factious life; never due respect towards abstract authority, neutrality in law, moderation in command, perseverance in the demands of right, or tenacity in the exercise of citizenship. Generations so nurtured and educated could not be other than they are. Government does not personify law, nor does the subject feel himself a citizen. Arbitrary methods are practised whenever possible, and eagerness to exercise them is present even among those who suffer from them. The Cacique is a turbulent personality when in command; and the restive individual aims to become a Cacique himself.

"Noble, high-minded, honourable and self-sacrificing persons have not been lacking—fervent lovers of the public welfare—but they have not had the means of enforcing their views. Power has always remained in the hands of those who have subordinated everything great and good to the interests of the ruling faction. Repeated deception has caused a lack of confidence on the part of the people, and, in proportion to their apathy, the brutal instincts and selfishness of the political 'bands' have gained the upper hand. . . .

"The most impregnable bulwark of this abuse is the universal Caciquism known as the Government. The habit of supporting one or other party [alternating in office] has grown so ingrained that the existence of the nation and people is almost forgotten. Authority lacks nerve. The usurpation of public office by supernumeraries, parliamentarians, pressmen, provincial M.P.s, councillors and hangers-on is patent to all. The present conduct and prestige of Parliament could scarcely be worse, but in various ways it is entirely attributable to Government."

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Discussing the remedy, Señor Maura declares that, "if due energy is exercised, I do not consider that the resistance of the 'rotten timbers' [of Caciquism] is to be feared. The hour in which competition (by franchise only) for membership of Parliament is made compulsory will see Caciquism lose its power and place. I do not mean that a Dissolution should be the first step. The remedy consists in the thorough reform of local administration. This will uproot the ruling oligarchy and destroy its influences upon the general administration of the State. But whatever reforms may have a secondary character, I must insist that reform of municipal and local administration is the first step against Caciquism. I have no confidence in any electoral reform which does not first of all transform the absurd and rotten system of municipal government, and regulate and separate the inherent responsibility of all public functions. But once these two points are gained, there is nothing so urgent as alteration of the electoral procedure, so that administrative, judicial, and governmental functions shall be kept apart from centralisation and be handed over to local electoral bodies, whose integrity shall be respected; equally undeniable, too, is the right of minorities to representation. The need for reform is imperative, since time but aggravates the evil, and customs are growing worse every day."

After this indictment the reader will naturally be anxious to learn what steps Señor Maura took, during his two terms of office, to cure the disease thus preying on the vitals of the nation. He did nothing. In fact, his last General Election (1907) was, perhaps, the worst exhibition of Caciquism in politics since Sagasta's performance in 1885. Thus, while portraying and condemning an ugly political vice, Maura's remedy was nothing but words—words—words. So much for Spanish statesmanship!

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Turn we now to the evidence of men distinguished in other walks than politics. From the Report contributed to Costa's invaluable book by Professor Rafael Altamira, Professor at Oviedo University, Adolfo G. Buylla, Adolfo Posada, and Aniceto Sala, Professors of Law at Oviedo University, and recognised authorities on law, politics, history, sociology, and education, are culled the following observations:—

“ In the districts to which our Report refers, Caciquism is perfectly organised and operates with an order and rhythm worthy of better employment. It is controlled from Madrid by a central oligarchy, and there is a district or provincial Cacique in each town or city council with the necessary sub-agents, whose eyes and ears never rest. From the provincial capital, or county town, the autocrat directs operations. Usually he is a wealthy politician who owes his advance to family position, or to riches, or aptitude for successfully carrying out subterranean intrigues. He is a bold, bad man, and, if he has it not, often makes a show of religion and piety. He need not be a man of education, or administrative ability, or even an orator. He may fill a lucrative post, or hold a number of offices which all bear upon and assist one another. Yet while studious of his own interests, he does not neglect those of his clique. The Cacique-in-chief may enjoy a better income than does a Crown Minister. Absolute in power, all public functionaries, from magistrates to scavengers, must do him homage, and private persons who wish to safeguard their rights or protect their interests are lost if they do not secure his support.

“ Changes of Government do not always affect him, and provincial autocrats may be classed as permanent, or alternating. The former are undoubtedly most to be feared, and it is this condition which renders the institution stable and secures the tranquillity of its friends, whilst it gives impunity

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to public malefactors who lose all shame after they have forgotten honour and decency.

"The principal official is the provincial party leader, a faithful planet who reflects the light of the central star, and reflects it more effectively when he has less light of his own. He, indeed, is the 'best friend' who, with the greatest complacency, performs all the good and bad parts assigned to him by his chief. If, owing to his social position, politics are not necessary to him as a means of existence, he entrusts his duties to a subordinate, who, while serving his master, takes care to benefit himself, and engages in transactions which lawyers would pronounce illegal. The secondary official negotiates with the various 'friends' in the locality, and these direct the internal affairs of their town or village, and serve as intermediaries for recommendations to positions, employment, etc.

"By these means the Cacique is spared the trouble and worry of his position, and confines himself to his private affairs. He may be a Deputy or Senator, a landed proprietor, or devote himself to pleasure. He knows but little of the base intrigues carried out at his direction. He rubs shoulders with respectable people and never reveals his identity save on extraordinary occasions when he is compelled to protect his gang. Then everyone learns that he, and only he, is sole arbiter of the situation.

"This autocracy descends from the old regal capitals to the provincial centres, and from these to smaller towns and villages, each of which has its own 'boss.' Thus power radiates from the centre to the periphery by the influence of the oligarchy in Madrid, and returns from the circumference by virtue of the elections which are manipulated by the rank and file of the order. A vicious circle is formed; the leading Cacique shelters the smaller ones under his mantle, and these, in their turn, strengthen his power by their implicit obedience. There is no escape; the circle is never broken, and morality and justice cannot penetrate it.

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" Obviously such a system works like a machine; all opposition is ruthlessly crushed, sooner or later. Those who refuse to submit recognise their helplessness in time, because they have to overcome not only the personal power of the Cacique, but also that of public bodies which are completely at his service. And so, as after all 'a man must live,' it generally happens that the entire district is at the mercy of Caciquism. Even the strongest capitulate, that they may enjoy comparative peace, at the cost, however, of their rights and liberty. Members of all parties, even the most Radical, humbly serve a Cacique who may be operating from the opposite camp.* But in these cases it is commonly the question of 'bread and butter' that supplies the motive power.

" It is unnecessary to insist upon the corruption on which the system is based. The sovereign will of the autocrat or his agent is imposed upon the entire country, it slays energy, smothers all noble sentiments, pursues independent spirits, even to the fourth generation, and, except by a few isolated individuals, neither complaint nor protest is raised against it. This deadly tranquillity and communal debility, the fruit of a most odious degradation, is termed by its partisans an 'enviable peace,' and they deem it one of the undeniable advantages of their organisation. It is the peace of a cemetery, procured by corruption and social misery. The man who refuses to enjoy or participate in its spoils, or interrupts its course of action, may resign himself to his inevitable fate. Those who attack the autocrat are dubbed sectaries, seditious mongers, revolutionaries, or anarchists. If they oppose the regional Cacique, the Press will slander them; their actions at law will be lost; and all kinds of administrative persecution will be brought to bear against them, until they submit, or

* Catalanist and sometimes Republican M.P.s are elected by the aid of Conservative or Liberal Caciques, after arrangements with Government. Usually, however, the practice is not necessary, or possible, in large towns. Catalanist Separatists are the worst offenders.

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emigrate, or die. If they fight against the sub-agents, their fate is almost worse, inasmuch as the local judge supports these officials, and the higher court will act in a similar manner. One will not only lose one's case, but may consider oneself fortunate to escape prosecution on some trumped-up charge. Without noise or scandal whenever possible, but violently when necessary, the threatened tranquillity is restored. If the provincial Governor refuse to sanction arbitrary action, he will be removed. If the provincial judge endeavour to protect citizens in the exercise of their rights, he will be 'transferred,' and should a municipal official dare honestly to do his duty, he will be dismissed.

"Individual members of the ring are not consulted. The leader decides for them; they only vote for a person or a principle, and it not infrequently occurs that formal votes are dispensed with. This is the general rule. Both elections and electorate are ignored. Often no one votes, yet returns are made giving the poll of the entire community in favour of a particular candidate. In many cases the results from ten or twelve polling stations have been signed by the same hand.

This is the modern electoral system, which consists in writing down the results at the dictation of the Cacique. It is looked upon by the people as a matter of course. There are even those who praise the system, and penalties, on the one hand, and universal suffrage on the other, are alike treated with contempt.

"Nor is Caciquism confined to political and municipal affairs. It permeates civil life, too. Railways are constructed wherever the Cacique desires. Excise officers wait upon the 'boss' daily for his commands. Honest men are condemned, and criminals acquitted to order. In examinations the candidate with the lowest pass may win the post, and even assistants to University professors sometimes owe their appointments to the Cacique, in the teeth of college regulations and State law."

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Finally, Count de Torre Velez, a State lawyer and formerly a Civil Governor and ex-President of the Permanent Commission of ex-Governors, provides Costa's book with criticisms founded on personal experience. He asserts that—

“ Almost every witness examined by the commission of ex-Governors has declared that Caciquism is a more extensive internal sore in Spain than in any other country. With whom does the fault rest ? With Government, which gives to political oligarchs the power that should be reserved for Governors alone. The method is very simple. The Governor receives his credentials from the Cacique, and the Government says, in effect, ‘ You must follow the instructions of Mr. So-and-so.’ This person is the Cacique. Probably a day comes when the Governor declines to obey his mandate, and informs the Cacique, the Government, or both, accordingly. Ten or twelve hours later, possibly sooner, he receives a cipher telegram :—‘ Will your Excellency kindly do this or that ? ’ In other words, ‘ Will you carry out Mr. So-and-so's wishes ? ’ Then, seeing the uselessness of further opposition, the Governor yields, or difficulties arise, and the *Gazette* announces either his transfer or resignation. Experience shows that, in the struggles between the Cacique and Governors, the latter are generally right, but, as the former cannot be dismissed, the Governors must go.

“ The first necessary reform is to restore the proper function of the Governors. They should not be compelled to misuse their office and be placed at the disposal of political ‘ bosses.’ It would have been well if the Royal Decree (June 18th, 1900) had made the position of Governors *aut vitam, aut culpam*, recognising that his duties are not political, but administrative. This would have inflicted a mortal wound in the heart of a Caciquism which poisons our national life. Until this is accomplished an essential organ of the

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State will suffer severe injury, and the vital energies of the country will always be enervated and anæmic."

Count de Torre Velez would keep politics out of municipal administration altogether, advocates non-interference on the part of Government in the appointment of mayors, aldermen, and councillors, and would strictly confine excise officers to their own prescribed sphere.

"When Government resumes its proper functions," the Count adds, "and organises municipal and provincial administration, refusing to permit intermediaries between citizens and State officials, or between the King and his people, except through their legitimate representatives, then local self-government will be capable of public good, of justice, and of right; and the nation, rescued from the tentacles which now encompass and weaken it, will be renewed, powerful for the future, and inspired with Faith and Hope. Then we shall have a Fatherland. To-day the country only concerns a few and the people remain indifferent. Hence, when the principle of authority is invoked, they rebel, and, instead of respecting order, despise and hate it; thus confounding effect with cause. Under existing conditions, they cannot be expected to distinguish between them. Have they ever been taught to do so?"

It will be useful to supplement the foregoing testimony from Costa's exhaustive book, and the Press, demonstrating the principle of Caciquism, and exposing its character, by briefly describing how the Cacique "nobbles" the electorate, and manipulates town and other councils, and how he is aided by the pernicious practice of placing the two great parties of

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the State alternately in power, and how heartily he is abetted by the Church.

Since 1879, under Sagasta, the Liberal Opposition leader of the day, it has been the established custom that Liberal and Conservative parties should each in turn enjoy the spoils of office. This system is known, in Spanish phrase, as that of "partidos turnantes"—"alternating parties," and its rascality is amazing. Conservatives or Liberals are returned to power, and, during a two years' term, it is by no means unusual to find that the whole Cabinet has undergone reconstruction five or six times. Ministers and Under-Secretaries are seldom selected with regard to their fitness, but rather as a reward for party services. Generally speaking, the Minister pays scant attention to the duties of his office. Indeed, he has little encouragement to do so, since he knows that, in a few months, he will probably be replaced by another influential friend of the Ministry. Consequently, he makes the best of his opportunity to plunder and enrich himself and his friends out of Government grants, taxation, or contracts. The party "bully," the orator of ten-hours' speeches, and head of a powerful clique, is the Minister who is most likely to reign undisturbed throughout one or more alternating Parliaments. Spanish politicians change sides with a frequency unthinkable to British minds. A rising politician, neglected by his friends or leader, or marked down for slaughter at the next election, thinks little of walking into the opposite camp. Hence it is not uncommon to find Ministers of one party enjoying office with their adversaries less than two

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years later. Pelf and power are far more persuasive than principle in this sun-kissed land of orange groves.

Political scandals that would ostracise a British statesman for the rest of his life, scarcely serve to disturb the dark surface of Spain's political cesspool. The revelation of some knavery, probably by a leader disappointed of plunder, or a politician with a conscience, causes little concern to any Government. The retort of "You're another" is a powerful brake upon too violent denunciation, and the people still await the man of iron who will dare to cleanse and disinfect the Augean stable. It must not be assumed that Republicans are all saints. Some of them may be little better than the men they hold up to obloquy. Still, they generally stand for clean elections.

With the exception of the measure passed by the Conservative Villaverde Ministry establishing permanency of office (save for delinquencies) in the department of Excise and Customs, no single official is sure of his appointment beyond the lifetime of the existing Ministry. All Governments dismiss a large proportion of what, in Great Britain, are termed "permanent officials," and replace them by favourites of the party which is called to power by the prerogative of the King, who may refuse to sign a law, or may select a new Ministry, under a plea of "want of confidence," whether concerted with a Government *in extremis*, or prompted by the Palace or the Vatican. This change in the official staff—after the selection of a Cabinet of nine Ministers, with appointment to minor offices and Under-Secretaryships—is the first hint of a fresh régime, and its

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accession to power. Then follow the appointments of new provincial Governors—forty-nine in all (including the Canary Islands), who, with few exceptions, “resign” office. Chiefs of police come next, while Mayors and administrative bodies are unscrupulously transformed on prearranged lines. The preparations having been completed, in the course of from three to six months the General Election is held, and the Government is jockeyed into office with a majority superior to all possible coalitions.

Though the local elections of December 12th, 1909, are now only of historic interest, they were very significant. The results were remarkable from three standpoints. (1) Owing to a compact between the Republicans and Socialists, the latter at last gave signs that the party led by Iglesias and Quejido might, in a few years, have real influence upon national and local life. The final returns for the whole of Spain gave fifty-nine Socialist victories, and constituted a record. Socialist politics had been a negligible factor till then. (2) In the principal cities the Republicans practically divided representation with the Liberals, to the consternation and utter rout of Conservatives and avowed clericals. The Republicans had municipal majorities in twenty-nine towns and cities, including Barcelona, Bilbao, Valencia, Saragossa, Malaga, Corunna, Oviedo, whilst the Conservatives retained scarcely a single city within their control. It must be remembered that public opinion can only be gauged by the returns in the provincial capitals and large towns, where the elections are, to a considerable extent, the genuine expression of the electorate. (3)

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In Madrid itself, 11 Republicans, 13 Liberals, and 2 Socialists were returned, and thus, including non-retiring councillors, there were 28 Republicans in a City Council of 52 members.* Not one Conservative was successful in the Madrid elections in December, 1909.

In a leading article on the coming elections the *Heraldo* of Madrid ("Moretist"), the most powerful daily paper in the kingdom, in its issue for November 29th, 1909, only a fortnight before the polls, expressed certain significant sentiments that showed the slow but sure formation of public opinion.

"To us," it said, "the ideal of the activities of a Government during any election, whether Municipal or Parliamentary, should consist in affirming the empire of law against all transgressors. It should give facilities to everyone in the exercise of the franchise, abstain from all coercion, maintain the right of citizenship without promise of reward or threat of injury, and rigorously prevent the interposition of 'bad arts' across the road of truth and right. The series of corrupt practices that pollute the suffrage, all the artifices and knavery that have educated notorious sharpers and falsifiers of the ballot, together with the craft and subtleties that outrage sincerity, must disappear, and we hope to see them blotted from our history.† . . .

* Spanish city and town councils are renewed every four years, and half of the members are elected every two years, in November. Government often alters the date in order to transform majorities prior to a General Election. Canalejas, like his predecessors in office, has promised to reform local administration and electoral procedure during his term of office.

† Apart from Governors, government and police officials, etc., Señor Moret, during his term of office (November 1909-February, 1910), appointed 420 Mayors. The ex-Premier did his work so well that Canalejas only found it necessary to select 44 Mayors, prior to the General Election on May 8th.

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"If Señor Moret proposes, as we believe he will, to give the country sure proof that he is the faithful defender of the suffrage, he will have inaugurated a new period in our political history. Father Example is calling at the door, and it would be folly to deny him entrance. Whatever may be said to the contrary, it has always been true that the will of the citizen, exploited on innumerable occasions, has been with us eternally disregarded at the polling booths, and in the primary cells of our political organism—our municipalities—it has not been possible to obtain a legally-elected representation in which the bond between voter and voted has not been broken during the count."

The sinister influence of the Catholic clergy during elections is well known to every observer of Spanish politics. From cathedral and village pulpit, the priest denounces the candidate who dares to thwart clerical tutelage, and, under penalty of excommunication, his flock is commanded to vote in accordance with the dictates of the Church. Monks and nuns act as canvassers and spies, and woe betide the man of independent mind, in an obscure village, who dares to vote contrary to direction and is not morally and financially above the bitter persecution that awaits him everywhere! Rural elections being usually complete fiascos, priestly pressure is quite unnecessary, but in large villages and small towns, where a strong anti-clerical faction exists, the Church assails, undermines, and abrogates a free franchise. Only in big towns, more especially seaports, can it be said that clerical vote-catching partially fails.

Apart from the wholesale purchase of votes and the terrorism of organised mobs who prevent "suspect"

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citizens from reaching the polling-booth, the persecution and imprisonment of anti-clericals upon the flimsiest of pretexts, more often illegal than otherwise, are constantly witnessed. A notable example was the prosecution of Señor Benito Conde, a Republican professor of mathematics, who owned and conducted a secular secondary school at Gijón, a seaport in Oviedo province, in opposition to an institution controlled by the clergy. Returned by a large majority at the local council elections (December 12th, 1909), he was arrested three days later and referred, by the civil court, to the military tribunals for trial for offences under Moret's Law of Jurisdictions. Apparently his only offence was that, in an election address issued twenty days before, he commented on a well authenticated case in which certain nuns, in their rounds of house-to-house alms-begging, had entered a small shirt factory, and, accepting shirt-making for their poor *protégées* in the local convent at 25 per cent. below current prices, thus threw several women out of employment.

The first election enjoyed by modern Spain was under the régime of Pi y Margall, one of the Presidents of the short-lived Republic of 1873, and was much cleaner than any that followed it. The 1876 election, "made" by the Conservatives under Canovas, was a brutal campaign, while that of 1885, engineered by Canovas' Home Secretary, Romero Robledo, the champion electioneerer, touched the high-water mark of electoral "flowing tides." So palpable and shameless were the tactics in Radical and Republican Madrid that a Liberal-Republican-Socialist coalition, meeting force with force

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in its weakest centre, routed the Conservatives at the municipal elections, despite Robledo's iniquitous practices. The result was the more remarkable in that, under a limited franchise, he had compiled a burgess roll chiefly composed of unqualified voters! The Home Secretary, it may be explained, is the Minister empowered to make all the preparations for a General Election. This, for a time, broke the back of Spanish electioneering, but the ill-starred system revived in 1891, when Canovas was returned to power, notwithstanding an openly-divided party, under the new Suffrage Act conceding the vote to nearly all males of twenty-five years of age. Maura, then and for some years afterwards a Liberal, produced irrefragable proofs that the election had been won through flagrant rigging by the Government, which had eliminated local magistrates (who preside at the counts), and suspended and prosecuted town councils, and thus was returned not by votes but by violence.

Sagasta's General Election of 1893 was just as bad as that of Canovas. So deliberate and discreditable was the electoral fraud then contemplated that both the Republicans and Carlists withdrew from the contests, as the only protest open to them. In a leader commenting upon this and later campaigns, the *Heraldo de Madrid* declared that—

"The retirement of the Republicans, who had collaborated with Sagasta in the work of the long Parliament of 1886, did more harm to Liberal reputation than the loss of many Parliamentary seats and Councillorships would have done. The people of Madrid are habituated to these election pro-

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ceedings, which sometimes give rise to comical, sometimes to melancholy, but always to deplorable proceedings. We do not forget the municipal elections of 1895, when the followers of Silvela (Conservative) were overthrown [the results were: 18 Conservatives, 4 Silvelists, and 5 Liberals; the two Republicans who submitted to the farce of elections were defeated], nor how, when in power, they overthrew Tetuanists and Romerists, nor how the Liberals, in 1901, made scarcely an effort to secure the municipal return of those indubitably elected by popular will."

Maura and Villaverde "made" the elections of 1903, zealously assisted by La Cierva. Maura, the denouncer of Canovas in 1891, utilised the very methods which, twelve years before, he could not condemn in sufficiently strong language. Again (1907) when in power, with La Cierva at the Home Office, Maura held a riotous Conservative campaign. He scarcely left a Liberal Mayor in Spain, nearly 800 Mayors were appointed "by Royal Order," or by the town council, after transformation. Valencia City Council was suspended and prosecuted for presumed offences. County council elections were rigged, and La Cierva was frank enough to state that it was preferable to replace a Mayor or official rather than to await his resignation. "Besides," quoth he, "it had the virtue of saving time." Emissaries of the Government were sent into Opposition districts, Governors assisted in squeezing all under their command, and public services (police and guards) were at the political "favourites'" beck and call. Contrary to Article XCI. of the electoral law, archbishops as well as parish curates fulminated against the Liberals—who had ventured to introduce an anti-

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clerical Bill, even though they knew it would not be accepted—and converted their pulpits into party platforms. The Madrid municipal elections in May, 1907, were officially suspended, only to secure the return of a Republican majority at a later date.

A "slight" error of 2,000 in the count unseated two Madrid Republican M.P.s, and the mistake was only "rectified" upon the assembly of Parliament. A noble Senator, twenty-three years of age, and so not entitled to possess a vote or to receive one according to incontrovertible law, was nevertheless declared duly elected, and allowed to hold his seat, despite the publicity of a Parliamentary debate. It was the lot of Canalejas to make one of the speeches of his career (May 31st, 1907) in denouncing Maura, "the tiger," and La Cierva, the "Trepoff" of Spain.

And so goes on the game of Spanish electioneering!

CHAPTER III

BEFORE THE CONCORDAT AND AFTER

Decay of Carlism—The Essential Spirit of Spanish Catholicism—
The Religious and the Secular Clergy—Vicissitudes of the Religious
Orders—The Concordat of 1851—The Law of Associations (1887)
—How its Provisions are Evaded.

IN the Land of To-Morrow the unexpected must happen. Carlism, which once threatened to rend the Peninsula, is now the object of contemptuous indifference, and Spanish Catholicism itself—with a history to which only another Dante could do justice—is likely to yield to pressure both from without and within, and—*Quién sabe?*—perhaps sooner rather than later. Carlism, we have said, is a rapidly decaying force. Impervious to modern tendencies, denying religious liberty *in toto*, and proclaiming the rule of Rome in every phase of public and civic life, it has outlived its day and only exists in order to show what depths of fanaticism still remain within the bosom of Spanish Catholicism. Even the illiterate peasant in the northern fastnesses under the shadow of the snow-capped Pyrenees, or in the rural villages of the provinces of Catalonia and Castellon, has advanced a little beyond the mediæval form of autocratic government and absolute monarchy. The Carlist war of 1868–1876 killed the cause in Spain, for the barbarities then perpetrated in the name of re-

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ligion, Rome and the Pretender, shocked the public conscience. Though its principal adherents in Carlist localities are drawn from the clergy, the ruling clergy are now afraid openly to support its claims. Don Carlos gave up all hopes of the throne long before his death, and his son, Don Jaime, never dared to conduct an agitation on behalf of his right to the crown in legitimate line of succession. He is at liberty to visit Spain at his pleasure, but prefers to reside in Rome, under the *incognito* of José Molinas.

Carlists are divided into two forces. On the death of their Parliamentary leader, his son, Ramon Nocedal, having failed to secure the leadership of the party, founded the Integralists, who, small in numbers, are predisposed to compromise with the Conservatives. Their views are represented by *El Siglo Futuro*, a Madrid Ultramontane daily paper.

The Carlist purists, or "Don Jaimists," generally maintain an irreconcilable attitude in politics, although they, too, occasionally vote Conservative in return for official favours to their candidates in constituencies where the Absolutists are fairly strong. Their leader, Doctor Bartolomé Feliu, a professor of Barcelona University, a learned and most likable man, is a perfect fanatic upon the ideal of Carlist and Catholic monopoly of State and Church.

To illustrate the essential spirit of Spanish Catholicism, it will suffice to quote the *ipsissima verba* of the authoritative document by Don Juan de Clazabel, leader of the Basque Integralists, expounding the programme of the party. It was published at Durango, in

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the province of Vizcaya (Biscay), in 1910, but might have been issued by the Holy Office in the fifteenth century, under the auspices of Tomas de Torquemada. Its interest for us lies in the fact that its spirit still permeates the mass of the Catholic clergy in Spain:—

“We are Catholics and Spaniards,” says this remarkable pamphlet, “and love God above all, and wish to praise, reverence, and serve Him in our hearts, and under the discipline of our mother the Church. Next to God and His Church, we love our country as the land which our Lord gave to us, and because it has always been the most Christian country upon earth. We proclaim the social sovereignty of Jesus Christ. We desire that His holy doctrine shall rule all things, and that laws, customs, actions, and institutions shall have, as their foundation, the eternal law which is under the custody and teaching of the Church of God, and His infallible Vicar [the Pope].

“We desire Catholic Unity with all its consequences, and that no crimes shall be more detested nor be visited with greater punishment than those of heresy, apostasy, attacks upon [Catholic] religion, and rebellion against God and His Church. We maintain the integral unity of the Faith of our Fathers, its firm irreconcilability with error, and our indissoluble adhesion to the throne of St. Peter, and we desire the absolute return to Catholic principles and complete Christianity, and the glorious traditions of our country, according to its Constitution upon the unity of Catholic faith in the Councils of Toledo, and its reconstitution following the Reconquest [expulsion of the Moors], after successfully fighting the enemies of God. We desire to render unto God the things that are God’s, and unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar’s, but we wish Cæsar to humiliate himself before God, and Church and State to exist united, with the temporal body submitted to the spiritual power, even as the carnal body is subdued by the soul.

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"We desire a temporal power that shall be confined to its natural destiny and continue the traditional policy of Spain, keep peace and justice, foment national prosperity and extirpate evil, or repress it—when extermination is not possible—in order that the good may blossom freely, and increase and prosper, according to its nature, in the love of religion, defended by the State.

"We abominate liberty of conscience, thought, beliefs, and all the liberties of damnation or perdition, with which the imitators of Lucifer perturb, corrupt, and destroy the nations. We abominate it with all the energy of our soul, and even with our latest breath. We wish to combat Liberalism, progress, and modern civilisation, its accomplices and advocates, wherever political and philosophical Naturalism is used and advocated. We believe that Catholic Liberalism is equivalent to uniting light with darkness, Jesus with Bellal, and that it is perfidious, more harmful, and more fearful than are our open enemies. We wish to close the mouth of Hell at once, and that there shall only be liberty for the swift and inexhaustible current that shall inundate everything and everywhere—namely, the Holy Truth which makes men and peoples happy and free. Our formula is summed up in this particular in these words—'For truth and good, full liberty seems too small; for evil and error all repression appears too little.'"

We may now proceed to consider some of the phases of Catholicism in Spain, with reference, more especially, to the rise of monastic and conventual power, the negotiations with the Vatican before and after the Concordat, and the Law of Associations.

Rome regards Spain as the last of European nationalities wherein she can maintain her spiritual and temporal power. Indeed, owing to her capacity for intrigue and her capture of party politics, whether

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Liberal or Conservative, she has secured, under so-called Constitutionalism, a more firmly entrenched position for her doctrine, and for the accumulation of wealth and property, than was allowed to her under autocratic monarchy. Cabinets may grow restive, but their schemes of prospective legislation against the Vatican resolve themselves into protracted negotiation, and are finally dropped in lamblike submission to the Papal demands, or the Government falls.

In general terms, the religious question presents two aspects. The ardent anti-clerical, whether non-Catholic or atheistic, desires complete disestablishment and disendowment, with, as a corollary, the expulsion of all religious Orders from Spain. The moderate anti-clericals, comprising a section of the Republicans, Liberals, and a few Conservatives, though divided upon disestablishment, are united upon the principle of reduced State support to the Church, the abolition of grants to monastic and conventual Orders, the suppression of the great majority of existing religious establishments, and the submission of all religious institutions, and their members, to the common law and taxation. On every hand, it is admitted that the numerous Orders of monks and nuns, leading a contemplative life, or presumably devoted to education and charitable pursuits, as laid down by their foundation, while simultaneously amassing great wealth by commercial and industrial enterprise, with accompanying unfair competition, constitute a social menace, and a heavy financial burden upon the country. The position of the secular and parish clergy in rural districts is far from reassuring. They perform the general duties

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of parochial clergy and, in many instances, suffer poverty and privation in consequence of the unwarranted financial rivalry of religious Orders which are exempt from parochial functions. There can be little doubt that the average parish priest would heartily welcome a reduction in the number of regular, or monastic, clergy, who take away his "fees" for special services. On the other hand, many bishops and town clergy receive and enjoy fabulous wealth from properties and investments.

Spain has been the happy land of monastic and conventual Orders. In the early portion of the sixteenth century there were 9,000 convents, and 70,000 nuns or monks in the country. In 1788 the estimate had reached formidable proportions, the figures being 88,428 friars and nuns, 102,428 priests, and 8,656 minor clergy, or one for every 51 inhabitants. The reign of Charles IV. was notable for the incursion of monks, who numbered 70,000, and at that time were reputed to own two-thirds of the soil. Joseph Bonaparte (1808-1813) suppressed the religious Orders, and gave them fourteen days' notice to quit Spanish territory. The Inquisition was abolished by the Cortes of Cadiz in 1812. But these were interludes. When Ferdinand VII. dissolved the Cortes in 1814, declared absolute monarchy, and made his court the shame of Europe, the army of monks re-entered Spain, and, in 1826, there were 150,520 ecclesiastics (priests and monks and nuns) in the country, or one for every 91 inhabitants. In 1835, when Mendizabal ordered the suppression of all monastic Orders, as a punishment for participation in the Carlist war, there

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were 90,000 monks and nuns and 37,000 clergy, or one for every 150 inhabitants. Between 1836 and 1844 monastic property to the value of £24,000,000 was compulsorily sold, that sum being equal to nearly one-third of the national debt. No wonder the monastic Orders were able to finance civil war whenever it suited their policy! Rome suffered a further severe repulse in 1854, when Espartero and O'Donnell (Duke of Tetuan) passed a law of disestablishment, despite the frantic opposition of Isabella II., the clergy, and the Pope. This Act was a partial and temporary reversal of the 1851 Concordat, which conceded the return of unsold lands to the Church, the proceeds to be invested in Three per cent. stock, whilst the clergy were allowed to obtain new properties. The sales and proceeds of Church possessions, again passed by O'Donnell in 1865, were practically wasted, political fraud and Catholic politicians consuming the major portion of the money. The sale of lands under this Act and under the Revolutionary Government of 1868 was finally abolished in 1869, under the Regency of Serrano, Duke de la Torre. It is safe to assume that, between 1835 and 1869, Rome was compelled to disgorge property and land amounting to at least £120,000,000 in value. Her vicissitudes of the middle portion of the nineteenth century were not brought about by revolutionaries or anti-Catholic governments. They were the work of Moderate Constitution-
alists, who had been constantly menaced by monastic Orders which placed their forces, means and organisation at the disposal of insurrectionists and advocates of absolute monarchy alike.

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From this period Rome and her monastic Orders began to recover lost ground. In 1901, before the French and Philippine incursions, according to Cerviño, the number of monks and nuns amounted to 60,000, or one for every 300 inhabitants. Within three years, following the expulsion of the Orders from the Philippine Islands and the operation of the Combes Act (1901), closing 127 unauthorised and illegal convents and monasteries in France, at least 70,000 monks and nuns were resident within the Peninsula. A conservative estimate would therefore place the number of monks and nuns now in Spain at 70,000, or one for every 260 of the population, but the number has been put as high as 118,800, or one for every 152 inhabitants. However, the 1910 official returns give a total of 4,480 convents and monasteries, or an increase of 1,177. There are about 3,300 convents upon the records of 1900.

Though the numbers are large, the distribution is unequal. Barcelona province (1910) has one conventual or monastic establishment for every 2,250 inhabitants—480 in all. The totals for Madrid and Valencia provinces are 229 and 167 respectively. There are 76 Orders, Congregations, and Institutes of monks and nuns established in Spain and the colonies of Fernando Po and Canary Isles. The poorer provinces offer no attractions to monks and nuns, and some districts are almost deserted. Generally, they are to be found in greatest strength in the manufacturing and commercial centres, or where wealth prevails. The provinces of Madrid, Barcelona, and Valencia present the highest totals, whilst other Catalanian North-Eastern provinces, the

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Basque provinces (Bilbao district), Navarre and High Castile hold the record figures in proportion to industry and population. Carlist Castellon is a conspicuous exception to the rule that the richer north and seaport cities are the places where monastic and conventual Orders do most abound.

Their riches cannot be estimated. It is averred that the Church, and particularly the various Orders, control one-third of the total wealth of the country. Their money is invested in all parts. In the mineral mines from Biscay to Moroccan Melilla, in the cotton mills of Barcelona and the orange groves of Southern Spain, in the Spanish Transatlantic steamers and Northern railways, in every industry, in short, they possess influence and control. Indeed, the Marquis of Comillas, the millionaire "protector" of the Jesuits, is probably by far the wealthiest man in Spain. It is this might of money, placed entirely at the service of the Church and her associations for the purpose of dominating secular life, which, more than her numerical strength, has increased the modern power of Rome in the country, and by threat, bribery, or boycott, has prevented legislation inimical to her interests. Is it surprising that the average enlightened Spaniard, even when himself professing the Catholic faith, regards the dismantling, suppression and forfeiture of illegally-constituted convents and monasteries as imperatively necessary for the solution of the religious problem in his native land?

Rome never takes any reverse "lying down." In the darkest days of 1836 to 1844, following Mendizabal's

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vigorous statecraft, she laboured incessantly for the reinstatement of the expatriated Orders. The Ministry of "mixed" Liberals, under Gonzalez, during Espartero's regency of 1841, in reply to the Vatican's violent invective, arraigning the Government as persecutors of the Church and denouncing them as lukewarm in the faith, protested that the Pope, in the face of the appalling misery caused by seven years of civil strife, had not scrupled to rekindle the flames of revolt and revolution. Fortunately they no longer lived "in the times of odious memory when a threat from the Vatican made thrones tremble and agitated nations." Referring to clerical and Carlist machinations during the period of internal war and bloodshed, the Vatican was courageously informed that the clergy and monks "were frequently the authors and principal leaders of riot and sedition, and headed rebel forces, directed the sacking of towns and villages, and the ravages and murders of peaceful inhabitants; whilst religious houses were converted into centres for the hatching of conspiracies, and churches were utilised as storehouses and armouries for hiding and supplying munitions of war."

Even the ultra-reactionist Narvaez, who succeeded Espartero in 1843 and from whose Parliament the Liberals withdrew next year, in protest against what they termed a dictatorship, refused (1844) to allow the Holy See to reinstate the monastic Orders.

In the years immediately following, several attempts were made, tentatively and without undue temper on either side, to restore more friendly relations between Spain and the Vatican. Feelers were thrown out on

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the points in dispute with a view to establishing a fresh *modus vivendi*, which might ultimately be reduced to the form of a Concordat. It was a period of changing governments, which only maintained their power by physical force, and Rome could well afford to wait. With wonted patience, she gradually undermined the position of the State towards her auxiliary Orders, and at last adroitly urged the fulfilment of former Ministerial promises to "establish some convents upon opportune times and occasions," and to protect the schools of the Escolapian* Fathers, missions, and a hospital nursing Order. Going a little farther, she made these the condition of reconciliation with Spain, and, in 1851, the Concordat, signed by Isabella II. without Parliamentary sanction, on which Rome rests her modern right to own Church property and to demand monastic and conventual endowments, became *un fait accompli*. This document was the source of grave trouble to the unhappy nation whose statesmen had been cajoled into sanctioning it. But it constitutes Rome's Magna Charta in Spain, and on it she shall soon rise—or fall!

The law legalising the Concordat, stated (Article V.) that its object was "to determine, in a definite manner, questions concerning Religious Institutes, and to ensure that the houses [convents or monasteries] that are conserved shall add to the life of contemplation and to exercises of education or charity." Article I. declared that "the Catholic Apostolic religion—to the exclusion of any other—shall continue to be the only religion of

* Escuelas Pias, or "pious schools."

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the Spanish nation, and shall be conserved for all time in the dominions of His Catholic Majesty, with all the rights and prerogatives which it must enjoy according to the law of God and the dispositions of the Sacred Canons" (ecclesiastical law). Article II. provided that "As a consequence of the foregoing, instruction in the universities, colleges, seminaries, public and private schools of every class shall, in everything, conform to the doctrine of the Catholic religion, and, with this object in view, no impediment shall be placed in the way of the bishops and diocesan prelates—who are entrusted with the mission of protecting the purity of the doctrine, of the faith and customs, and of the religious education of childhood—in the exercise of their charge, even in public schools."

Other clauses safeguarded the properties of the Church and perpetuated the payment of the established clergy, as well as grants to foreign missions and missionary friars, the educational, hospital nursing, and charitable Orders of St. Vincent de Paul and St. Philip Neri, which were allowed to amass properties and be exempt from ordinary civil law, jurisdiction, and taxation. Unauthorised unprotected Orders were to be controlled by the common law. The cardinal flaw in the Act was that the Government, in stating that the Orders of St. Vincent de Paul and St. Philip Neri were legalised, endowed, and immune from taxes and civil law, did not, in Articles XXIX. and XXX., admitting that a third monastic association was to be recognised and defined, expressly name the Order in question. This neglect has been the source of infinite trouble.

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Even in Spain, however, this audacious attempt to arrest the march of intellect was foredoomed to failure. Despite his being an avowed "partisan of the convents," Canovas discovered that he could not touch the question of religious liberty, in the 1876 Constitution, without feeling the antagonism of the first two Articles of the Concordat. Logically, he ought to have rescinded these Articles, for not even the most irreconcilable Catholic could deny that the clause sanctioning, though under limitations, freedom of religious opinion was in absolute contrariety to the arrogant monopoly asserted in the Concordat for the exclusive conservation of the Catholic faith for all time. Further, the liberating clause* implied exercise of dissent, and, as the basis of modern Spanish law, should have preceded and embodied, in contemporary law, the abolition of the two Articles. Other Decrees have legalised secular and even rationalistic education, which rests its initial rights upon the Constitution, and yet, in the face of precedent, State sanction, and statute, the Church persists in asserting her claim to dominate all public education. Governments have sometimes assisted her and sometimes thwarted her, but still, despite an evident advance towards partial toleration of the subject's liberty and right of action, she remains impervious to the teachings of history and demands the reimposition of ancient rights that have long been shattered in the eyes of independent thinkers and statesmen.

That conventual and monastic Orders not endowed by the Concordat were amenable to common law was

* See p. 70.

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made definitely clear by a statute second only in importance to the 1876 Constitution, namely, the Law of Associations, which was passed on June 30th, 1887. Its object was to legalise and regulate the rights of religious, social, political, and charitable organisations in accordance with Clause XIII. of the Constitution, enacting that "Every Spaniard has a right to give free expression to his ideas and opinions by speech, or through the Press, or in other ways, without liability to previous censure; to hold peaceful meetings, to associate and organise for the objects of human interest, and individually or collectively to petition the King, Parliament, and authorities."

Saving the Orders of St. Vincent de Paul and St. Philip Neri, all other religious Orders were placed under the common law in the exercise of civil rights, and under national taxation, whilst a monastic Order could be declared illegal and prohibited in the same sense that a trade union or political club might. Inspection of convents was distinctly laid down, and, excepting the two Concordat Orders, every convent or monastery must submit its rules for State approval. The civil authority might at any time enter a building or room owned or rented by any Society, and suspend meetings that contravene the civil law.

Upon prosecution, the civil authorities might suspend any Association, but the judicial authority alone could dissolve a legalised organisation. Books and accounts must be presented for inspection when required, and every Society must render an annual statement to the authorities. Once dissolved, an Association could not be

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reconstituted under the previous title or objects, should these have been pronounced illegal. Respecting the acquisition, possession, and disposal of properties and goods, all political, commercial, and religious Associations, barring the two Orders already specified, are governed by the civil laws regulating the ownership and taxation of property owned by collective bodies. The Law of Associations annulled (Clause XIX.) all previous laws which were contradictory of, or in opposition to, the principles and provisions of the Act.

Whilst ordinary social and political organisations are governed by this law, however, the Church has habitually disregarded it, and so far as convents, etc., are concerned, it is, to all intents and purposes, a dead letter. The vast majority of monastic Orders are allowed to act as though they were subsidised and perpetuated by the Concordat—a position flagrantly contrary to the statute. Proof that this fundamental law has never been carried out by Catholic monastic Orders was adduced by Sagasta's Decree of September 19th, 1901, which gave Associations six months' grace in order to register under the Act. A further Royal Order of April 2nd, 1902, required religious Orders to present their documents of authorisation to the provincial administrations and to register themselves if they wished to avoid proceedings as being illegally-constituted bodies. Religious and monastic business concerns were also instructed to place themselves upon the list of taxpayers.*

* Later developments in this and kindred subjects are discussed in the final chapter.

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If the Law of Associations were enforced, quite half the convents and monasteries in Spain would cease to be. It is only because of a studied toleration which effectively cuts the word "religion," as applied to Catholicism, out of the Act of 1887, and enforces the law against secular institutions, that the number of friars and nuns in Spain has enormously increased since it was passed. This indifference to statute law is testimony to the modern power of Rome in the Peninsula. Legal enactments have nominally destroyed the essence of the Concordat, but she safely walks between the clauses.

CHAPTER IV

THE CLERGY AND CHURCH INCOME

Church Endowments—Pensions for Monks and Nuns—Salaries of Bishops and Priests—Annual Provision by the State—Total Income of the Church—Nursing Sisterhoods—Number of Clergy and of Ecclesiastical Buildings—Teaching Nuns—Income from Plenary Indulgences.

ACCORDING to Article XXXVIII. of the Concordat of 1851 the endowment of the clergy and religious services is paid from (1) the product of properties restored to the clergy by the law of 1845; (2) the product of the Bula de la Santa Cruzada (Bull of the Holy Crusade), or sale of "plenary indulgences," as introduced by Gregory XIII.; (3) the returns from Encomiendas (Paid Crosses) and Maestrazgos (Paid Masterships) which had or would become vacant in the four half-military, half-religious Orders *; (4) the perpetual income from disamortised

* One of the most indefensible features of Spanish Catholicism is the preservation and endowment by the Concordat of the four military Orders of monks, namely, those of Calatrava, Santiago, Montesa, and Alcantara. These medieval Orders of ecclesiastical disciplinarians have long outlived their original functions of chasing and punishing infidels and heretics, and there is no justification for their existence. In the misty past the Kings of Leon and Castile exempted them even from ecclesiastical law in cities conquered from the Saracens, and their iniquities, political intrigues, civil wars, and interference with priestly influences sometimes led to open battles with the King, and certain of their Masters were beheaded. Several of the old Catholic Kings obtained Papal Bulls vesting the appointment of the Masters in their hands, and could even themselves hold the office. By Decree

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properties (added by an amended law of 1859); and (5) a tax on property to make up any deficiency of income. The clergy have the right to intervene in the collection of the tax, assisted by the police or civil guards. The clergy draw their salaries in specie or money by private arrangement, or under the parish, municipal, or provincial councils, and render the State any assistance required for the purpose.

Under the Concordat Spain was divided into nine metropolitanates, and forty-six bishoprics. It is stated, however, that the transference of the bishoprics of Calatrava, Orihuela and Segorbe, to Logroño, Alicante, and Castellon has never been carried out. Every diocese is allowed to have an auxiliary bishop and an assistant, according to the convenience and necessity of the bishop. The four military Orders were allowed to form a number of priorates under the direction of their Grand Masters, who hold the title of Bishops *in partibus*. In arranging these priorates, the Orders did not relinquish others which they held before the Concordat. Though Seville, Granada, Ronda, Saragossa, and Valencia were substituted for Alicante, Santiago, Montesa, and Calatrava, it is said that the State gained nothing by the change. The bishoprics of Albaracin, Ceuta, Ibiza, Teneriffe, Ciudad Rodrigo, Tudela, Barbastro, and Solsona were to be suppressed and con-

of July 30th, 1836, the Orders were governed by a Council nominated by the King. The Republic of 1873, by Decree of March 9th in that year, dissolved the Orders, but they were reinstated in May, 1874. In the present day they affect to protect the Catholic religion in the Army—a service for which the Army chaplains are quite adequate—and they secure to the Church the enormous income of £600,000 a year. They are the most useless of all the monastic Orders.

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verted into dioceses under a mitred abbot. Solsona and Barbastro have already been re-established under petition of Leo XIII., and Ceuta was transferred, by request of Pius X., to Tangier, in Morocco. The net result is one bishop more than in 1851.

The Concordat stated that the salaries of bishops should never be subject to any deductions, and during the Papal Carlist war of 1874, whilst the pay of soldiers and officers was subject to a reduction of 10 per cent., the Church received full pay. It is alleged that the Government owe about £3,200,000 to soldiers and officers for services during the Peninsular and Cuban wars. The Government provide bishops with palaces, orchards, gardens, "and other properties" in any part of their diocese. Parish priests possess a State-provided dwelling with garden and grounds attached, also inheritances and properties, similar to their bishops.

It was agreed to give grants to sisters of charity and all other religious houses (female) which the bishops deemed it convenient to preserve. The properties of convents not sold hitherto were to be valued, under the supervision of bishops, and converted into public debt which should go to their maintenance, the State to make good any deficiency. This was fixed at £100,000 per annum, two-fifths for sustenance (food, clothing, etc.), the rest for material, a word which is unqualified in the Concordat. The State undertook to provide salaries for the bishops and clergy without deduction for vacancies. All properties of clergy and monks hitherto unsold or not returned to them under the law

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of 1845 were converted into public debt, the interest on which was returned to them annually.

The Concordat perpetuated payment to the clergy of all charges on property left under wills and testaments, and, in default of the owners, the State was to pay deficiencies. The Church was also given full right to acquire ecclesiastical property. In the 1859 Convention ecclesiastical edifices, churches, bishops' palaces, grounds, gardens, parish priests' residences, etc., were declared Church property. The State undertook to keep them in repair and construct new buildings when the bishops deemed them necessary.

It was also agreed (1859) that the State should pension existing ex-monks and nuns not provided with adequate incomes upon entering convents, pay their chaplains and sacristans, provide for the expenses of their religious services and repair their churches. During 1908, Señor Nocedal brought the question of pensions to nuns before the Cortes. He produced evidence to prove that nuns living at the time of the Concordat (the only ones eligible) were still in receipt of annuities, and must then be between 120 and 180 years old. The question has been raised several times, but without effect. Numerous instances are also recorded where bishops and clergy have made false claims to property previously forfeited. Two cases in Valencia and Madrid and one at Montserrat brought the claimants an additional annual income of £5,000.

Bishops receive State salaries varying from £1,000 to £1,500 a year. The Bishop of Madrid draws £1,300, and the Cardinal Bishop of Barcelona has £1,480 ;

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but £1,000 is the usual stipend. The Primate of all Spain, who is Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo, has £2,100 a year. Parish clergy receive varying sums, generally about £200 a year in towns, down to one peseta (10d.) a day in some rural parishes. This does not represent their total income, as there are clergymen whose properties, etc., bring up their salaries to over £1,000 a year. Masses, etc., increase their incomes.

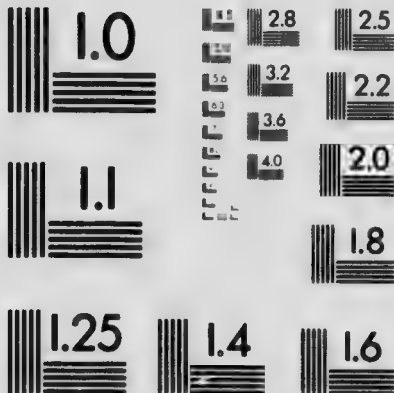
The Budget annually provides from £1,700,000 to £1,900,000 for the Cult (service maintenance) and Clergy, for salaries, subsidies to Orders and repairs to fabrics. In round figures the Church enjoys an income of £10,000,000 a year, apart from her undisclosed investments. Whenever any Spanish bishop is raised to the Cardinalate, this honour costs the State £800, besides an addition to salary of £250 a year as Cardinal-Bishop. The State also pays for the Bulls of new prelates, and when the several Cardinals travel to Rome, in order to elect a Pope, each receives £200 for expenses.

According to the official return of 1908, Spain then contained 26,480 sisters of charity, servants of Mary and Jesus, sisters of the Order of St. John of God, etc. These Orders are entrusted with the duty of nursing in all municipal hospitals and county infirmaries. Their salaries vary from £20 to £40 a year. Their clothes are made and washed by the novitiate and lay sisters, but the inmates of municipally-supported poor-houses, asylums and hospitals are compelled to make and mend their own garments without remuneration. It has been estimated that Spain pays £1,160,000 a year to these sisters of charity, who, of course, are



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under the authority of religious superiors and conventual regulations. The services would be more efficiently and more cheaply performed by a system of secular nurses such as prevails in England. It would be interesting to have a record of legacies left to the Church from wills made in Spanish public hospitals.

There are 65 cathedrals, with a combined staff of 303 high dignitaries; 793 canons or prebendaries; 843 deans; 356 chaplains and other installed clergymen; a total of 2,295, or 36.3 to each cathedral. There are 30 collegiate churches with 126 canons, including abbots; 123 beneficed priests; and 85 installed priests, or a total staff of 332. There are 18,564 parish churches more or less worthy of the name, and chapels, hermitages and sanctuaries, which, with convents and religious houses, approach 12,000 in number. The parish clergy comprise 16,400 parish priests and "supplies," 5,879 assistant priests, and 5,916 clergy ordained to parochial ministry. Adding the chaplains of convents and hospitals, poor-houses, and the Army, the total number of priests must amount to 35,000, or one for every 480 inhabitants.

Clergy may hold private property and dispose of it at will. Pontifical garments, ornaments, etc., are the property of the mitre. Many priests enter into business and, although it is contrary to their canons, practise usury, the law winking at the custom. On the other hand, many rural priests in forgotten, forsaken, forlorn, and poverty-stricken localities, literally have to beg their daily bread.

In 1867 there were 45,676 nuns, or seminary teachers,

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who had passed their official state matriculation. In 1883-1884 the number had fallen to 18,827, and the proportion is even smaller to-day. Government only pays these religious educational Orders on the supposition that they carry out their duties, which implies the possession of necessary qualifications.

Despite the so-called alteration of 1859, the Church, as such, has no private riches. The disamortisation realised by the Government after the Concordat of 1851 gave the State the full right to claim and own all Church properties, such as cathedrals, churches, chapels, etc., and the Government agreed to provide payment of Cult and Clergy in each Budget. A number of "religious houses" (convents, etc.) belong to religious communities and are thus inscribed in the official Register of Property. This applies specially to foreign religious Orders resident in Spain (registered as owned by foreigners), but the great majority of convents, etc., of other communities and Orders are the property of the State, which allows free use of them to the various Orders.

But the list of sources of the Church's income is not yet complete. The English Catholic will be pained to learn that plenary indulgences of the character long since abandoned by the Church of Rome in England constitute one of the principal items of the income of the Church in Spain. The Bulls of the Holy Crusade are purchasable at religious bookshops or from priests in every town. The second clause of Article XXXVIII. of the Concordat stipulated that one of the four sources of Rome's State-provided income (besides the income from properties returned to the clergy by the law of 1845,

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the income from the four military Orders, and a State tax to make up any deficiency), should consist of the "proceeds of the alms of the Holy Crusade." Every Spaniard knows that these "alms" are regularly sold, and the writer purchased the three principal Bulls issued for sale throughout Spain and the Canary Islands during 1910. Inasmuch as the price of the Bulls is plainly printed on each document, the word "*limosna*" (*alms*) is not in accordance with fact, as they cannot be bought for less than the price stated upon them. They are badly printed on very common thin paper, and each Bull is issued under Papal sanction by the authority of Doctor Don Prudencio Melo y Alcalde, "by the Grace of God and the Holy Apostolic See, Bishop of Olimpo, Suffragan of Toledo, and General Apostolic Commissary of the Holy Crusade in all the dominions of His Majesty King Alfonso." They bear the Papal seal, the arms of the Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo, and the signature of Don Prudencio. An expenditure of elevenpence halfpenny absolves a thief in certain circumstances from the necessity of restoring stolen property to the value of 12s. 3½d., and, for every additional sum of 12s. 3½d. up to fifty times this amount (£30 14s. 7d.) a further Bull must be purchased. The Bull states that for larger amounts "You shall come to Us [the Bishop] in order to agree upon the procedure." The document assumes that, respecting "anything stolen or unjustly acquired," the holder has made "due endeavours to find the persons to whom restitution should be made." Nevertheless, the Bull is a composition for theft, or receipt for stolen property.

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A second Bull, price fivepence, enables the purchaser to eat meat in Lent, and during other fasting days excepting Ash Wednesday, each Friday in Lent, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, and Saturday of Holy Week, and Palm Sunday, and, if the purchaser is a priest, the watches of the Nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ, Pentecost, the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the days of St. Peter and St. Paul. The privilege may also be enjoyed while purchasers are travelling or residing abroad during the year of issue.

Another Bull, of an omnibus character (price sevenpence halfpenny), includes permission to eat meat on Fridays and Fast Days, also Masses for the repose of the soul of departed relatives or friends in Purgatory. It further concedes an indulgence for marriage with relatives, and grants a plenary indulgence to the purchaser after confession before the priest.

The indulgence for meat-eating is one of the most popular. It is bought by thousands of non-Catholics who find it impossible to retain their employment in factories and workshops except by purchasing the Bull, which remains a waistcoat-pocket document throughout the year. Similarly, possession of the "ticket of Confession"—which, given by the priest, certifies that the holder has paid for it and confessed at least once during the year—is often demanded, as a condition of employment, and at times the Church authorities have had great difficulty in detecting printers who issued counterfeit "tickets" which were sold to non-Catholic purchasers for a copper coin.

CHAPTER V

NONCONFORMITY

Persecution of Rationalist Journalism—Moret's Decree Legalising Secular Schools—Catholic Intolerance—The Law as to Religious Liberty—Number of Protestants in Spain—Persecution of Sellers of Bibles—Catholic Processions—Non-Catholic Cemeteries—Priestly Violation of the Last Hours of Life—Marriage, Civil and Religious.

RATIONALISM, or Agnosticism, has always met with special attention from the modern Inquisition. That Rationalism in Spain, through the medium of its Press, has taken a bitter form is undoubted, but it has received intolerable provocation. Its principal object has been publicly to ridicule a faith it detests rather than to organise a rival code of morals. Its opportunities have been innumerable, and unsavoury clerical scandals in all parts of the country form, along with denunciation of clerical intolerance, the chief feature of its weekly propaganda. The revolt is mainly led by the advanced Republican papers.

Fernando Lozano, the *doyen* of Spanish Republican Rationalist journalists, started *Las Dominicales*, a weekly paper, in February, 1883—possibly the first of its kind as a national journal. Immediately bishops and priests fulminated excommunications against him and Catholics were warned, from the pulpits, not to buy or read his

paper, under penalty of eternal fire. One of the staff, Garcia Vao, was severely stabbed in the shoulder one dark evening, and the would-be murderer was never found. Many threatening letters consigned the editor to a nameless grave. The Government confiscated number after number, surrounded the office with cordons of police, and officers and soldiers, sword in hand, frequently raided the premises for copies of prohibited issues. But the paper survived, owing to the dogged spirit of the founder and editor. A desperate attack on it was made in 1893, by the society of "Fathers of the Family," at the head of which was the Marquis of Comillas. They projected a rival journal with the object of crushing Lozano, and lured away, by financial offers, several of his collaborators. For three years denunciations, sequestrations, and prosecutions were in full swing, but the detested journal emerged from its trials to continue its campaign. Señor Nakens's Rationalist Republican weekly, *El Matin*, also underwent prolonged persecution from organised tyranny, but a rare personality and undoubted capacity enabled him firmly to establish a journal with a circulation of 20,000 copies weekly. Republican papers of anti-religious and anti-clerical views have often suffered similar hardships. On the whole, hostility, though occasionally practised, has been more intermittent during recent years.

Ex-priests and monks are also engaged on the Press. Some write, under pen names, for Liberal newspapers of Catholic persuasion; others are well known in anti-clerical circles. A number of priests do not hesitate to expose the abuses in the Church and its

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Orders, but dare not sign their names. The late Don Juan Villada, of Burgos, however, for a few years before 1896, roundly denounced ecclesiastical discipline, and was not afraid to show up the evils of celibate life under his proper name. But the fear of abominable hatred, persecution, and excommunication prevents many priests from becoming active reformers. Spanish Catholicism will not tolerate the reformer from within. Several priestly critics, such as Gabarro (who founded a paper, library, and schools in Barcelona), Ardieta, and others, have been "subdued" by persecution and hunger.

Great was the outcry when Professor Odon de Buen, Spain's eminent scientist, professor of natural history at Barcelona University, took his seat in the Spanish Senate as a Moderate Catalan Republican, and the Bishop of Barcelona endeavoured to dismiss him from his chair, because of his avowed agnosticism. When Professor Buen announced his intention to propose the abolition of the clergy grants, a number of Senators petitioned the President of the House (General Azcarraga) to prohibit the motion.

Azcarraga replied, in dignified tones: "The Senators of the Left have the same liberty to expound their ideas as you of the Right. Our law is toleration."

One of the most significant blows at Catholic monopoly and intolerance was struck by Moret during his last term of office. It is a happy sequel to the Barcelona outbreak of 1909, and, though it has been but partially applied, due credit must be accorded to the fallen Premier for his act of justice. On February



Photo: Franzen, Madrid

SEÑOR MORET

The Liberal Premier who reopened the Secular Schools

3rd, 1910, the Ministry decided to allow the reopening of the 121 secular day and evening schools in Barcelona (arbitrarily closed by Maura since August, 1909) and other towns. On the same day there appeared a Decree, signed by His Majesty, confining Government inspection of private schools to health, cleanliness, and the prevention of offences against laws, morality, and the State (patriotism). In other words, though they might not inculcate teachings contrary to constitutional government, these schools were free to ignore Catholic, and to substitute other religious education, if so minded. As far back as 1876 Canovas defended the legality of non-Catholic schools, whether conducted by Dissenters or freethinkers. Theoretically, therefore, the Decree may have conferred no new privilege, but there can be no question that, if carried out with integrity, it constitutes a further charter of private secular education, and deals a severe blow at the pretensions of the Church. Past experience, however, warrants some degree of apprehension as to the impartiality of the executive. Government may exhibit quite a laudable anxiety about school hygiene and equipment, and yet display a lamentable bias against Dissent, in spite of the spirit as well as the letter of the law. The majority of State and Catholic school buildings, though unfit to be used, are allowed to remain open, but this standard of discipline and efficiency is usually enforced, either arbitrarily or otherwise, whenever it is desired to close Protestant or Rationalist schools.

Moret's enlightened policy excited Catholic wrath.

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To legalise private schools conducted by Dissenters was little short of a crime. Catholic bodies held a number of public demonstrations in various cities during December, 1909, and January, 1910, as a counter agitation to the advocates of secular education, who convened great meetings to demand the reopening of the secular and Rationalist schools which had been closed since the preceding August. At their assemblies Catholic orators, M.P.'s, bishops, and clergy invariably insisted that non-Catholic day schools should not be allowed in Spain. At a gathering in the Barcelona Tivoli, on January 22nd, 1910, Señor Senantes, an Integralist M.P., declared that "Catholics intend to impose the royal and social sovereignty of Jesus Christ throughout the land. Not only must the closed schools be prevented from reopening, but all the secular schools still open, and even some Institutes and many Universities, must be closed." A voice in the crowd exclaimed: "Burn them!" and the orator rejoined: "He is right. Let them be burned, and their ruins and ashes be scattered." This orator was not arrested.

At a meeting in the Jai-Alai, Madrid, on February 1st, 1910, one speaker, Alquejo, said: "We Catholics must save society. Down with the secular schools!" Señor Lazaro maintained that the reopening of the secular day schools by "culpable" Governments was intolerable, but the speech of the evening was delivered by Señor Salaberry. "For the first time," he said, "the Catholics are showing their face to the enemy; the corpses of Barcelona compel us to enter into the fight. We come to command, not to ask for justice."

The Catholic or Carlist who did not join in their protest was worthy of death. The close of his peroration savoured of blasphemy: "If there were no other leader for the Catholics, I would proclaim the Immaculate Mary, Mother of Jesus, and Queen of Heaven, to be our leader."

In Barcelona feeling ran high on both sides. *El Correo Catalan*, a Catholic Carlist daily, spoke desperately in its leader of February 4th, 1910: "We must meet those who have entered into a compact with sectarianism and revolution face to face behind the barricade, and fight them until we conquer, or fall with our honour." To which the retort of *El Progreso*, the Republican journal, was obvious. "To please *El Correo*," it commented, "half of Barcelona's inhabitants should be shot. In that case social peace would be assured, and the Carlists would have no need to trouble themselves with barricades, where they would be compelled to expose their bodies, contrary to their usual traitorous custom of sniping their enemies from behind rocks or the roofs of buildings."

But let us ascertain with some degree of precision to what extent religious liberty really prevails. The late Major Martin Hume held the fantastic opinion that "Catholic Spain is as free as Protestant England." How, then, shall we explain the examples of religious persecution and tyrannical priestcraft so notorious in that distressful country? In point of fact, persecution in manifold forms is one of the principal reasons why Spanish Catholicism, which is more disregardful of toleration than any other type of Catholicism, causes

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so much personal antagonism. It is the source of Republican hatred towards the Church and the inspiration of revolt. The truth is hidden from British readers simply because Spanish "news" rarely passes beyond her frontiers. Spanish Catholicism still breathes the atmosphere of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Article XI. of the Constitution of 1876 declares that "No one in Spanish territory shall be molested because of his religious opinions, nor in the exercise of his belief, except concerning the respect which is due to Christian morality. Notwithstanding, ceremonies or public manifestations, other than those of the religion of State, shall not be permitted." These are remarkable statements. If the one does not conflict with the other, the sense is wrapped in impenetrable mystery. But Canovas, as if to remove all possible doubt on this subject, issued a Royal Order (October 23rd, 1876) interpreting and regulating the Article, which, as a charter of religious liberty, he effectually smashed, pulverised, and destroyed. Let us see what some of these Regulations sanctioned and forbade:—

"I. From this date all public manifestations of sects or bodies dissenting from the Catholic religion, outside the precincts of their temple [church or chapel, etc.] or cemetery, shall be prohibited.

"II. For the purpose of Regulation I., a public manifestation shall mean any act or action committed in the public way [street, causeway, etc.], and on the outside walls of the temple or cemetery, which shall advertise ceremonies, rites, uses, and customs of the dissenting cult or religion, whether by means of processions, inscriptions, lettering, labels, flags, banners, emblems, placards, or announcements."

[This Regulation has been modified by a Royal Order of June 10th, 1910, which stated that the exhibition of signs and notice-boards on the outer walls of Protestant or other Dissenting churches is no longer prohibited as a "public manifestation." To this extent the Regulation has been cancelled.]

" III. Those who shall found, construct, or open a temple or cemetery dedicated to the worship, teaching, or interment conducted by a Dissenting body, shall notify the Governor of the Province in his capital (the Deputy Governor in the town where this official resides, or the Mayors of other places) forty-eight hours before opening it to the public. They shall indicate the name of the director, rector, or person responsible for the establishment. The same notice must be given (provided such has not already been rendered) within fourteen days from this date by the founders or persons in charge of temples or cemeteries already in existence.

" IV. Schools dedicated to education (whatever the sect to which they belong) shall operate independently of the temples, and shall be considered separate from them in all legal effects. Those entrusted with the control and direction of such schools shall be Sp niards, and, as specified by the foregoing clauses, they shall duly inform the authorities of the object of their teaching, give their names and academic qualifications (if they possess any), etc.

" V. Reunions or assemblies celebrated within cemeteries [religious funeral services are meant] shall, whether those of Dissenters or Catholics, always enjoy constitutional inviolability, so long as they do not contravene the ordinances and regulations of police, or commit any offence under the Penal Code.

" VI. Schools and teaching establishments shall, without distinction of creed, continue subject to constant inspection

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of the Government, in accordance with the precepts contained in the Decree of July 29th, 1874." [These precepts refer to inspection anent morality and health.]

The foregoing clauses furnish the interpretation of the author of Article XI. of the Constitution. As the words of the Article demonstrate, the interpretation was singularly discreditable. Clearly, the Article completely shattered the first two Articles of the Concordat of 1851.* The second sentence, indeed, suggests that the Church foresaw the peril, for it reads as if the Vatican had hinted as much to Canovas as a happy afterthought.

Although Dissenters ostensibly have the right to erect their own churches, permission to build is often withheld. Nor is this all. Every such building must be placed in a side street, where it will be neither seen nor recognised, and it must not be furnished with either a spire or tower. The members of the Evangelical Church of Madrid waited nine years (until 1903) before being able to use the door which opened into the street. Times have changed somewhat since soldiers with drawn swords guarded the porch and doorway of the Protestant Church in Seville, and prevented any Spaniard from entering the "cursed building," but gross indignities still exist. However, it could hardly be matter for surprise that bishops and other clerical authorities, especially in small towns and villages, indulged in acts of petty spite or worse, when the King himself publicly approved of the violation of Article XI. of the Constitution. The following letter, addressed on May Day,

* See pp. 55, 56.

1905, to Dr. Casañas, Cardinal-Bishop of Barcelona, speaks for itself :—

“ I have read with great interest and profound sympathy the letter which Your Excellency kindly forwarded to me on the 22nd ult., and the contents of which confirmed news I had already received concerning the attempt to open a new Protestant chapel in the Catholic city of Barcelona.

“ That I have made sincere efforts to solve the question according to what is clearly established in the text of the Fundamental Law [1851 Concordat] and the subsequent regulations of the same, is proved by the fact that some days ago I placed it before my Cabinet, and endeavoured to arrive at the most efficacious method of correcting an abuse incompatible with existing law and the unanimous sentiments of the Spanish nation.

“ As a Catholic King, a submissive son of and believer in the only true Church, I am deeply pained by this new attack upon the faith of our fathers, and the State religion whose destinies are at present confided to me by Divine Providence. I have no hesitation in assuring you, Señor Cardinal, that I shall do all that is possible, within my functions as a Constitutional Sovereign, so that my Government may stop the proposals which your Excellency has laid before me.

“ ALFONSO XIII.”

Permission to open the chapel was given later.

His Majesty was ill-informed on the subject of the “ unanimous sentiments ” of his people. Fully eighteen months before the publication of his letter, striking testimony to the demeanour of Protestants in the Basque villages had appeared in a Catholic paper, *La Voz de Guipuzcoa* (September, 1903):—

“ English influence has always taken the character of Protestant proselytism. The English support a number of

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chapels, but never interfere in political or local affairs. Our clergy is intellectually inferior to theirs ; they (the Protestants) give their services free, and the ministers and their wives undertake education and even doctor the people. The [Catholic] clergy who form the ministry in that district should be educated, tactful, and establish attractive schools. The English give toys and dainties to their scholars. A master in our schools, in receipt of 1s. 8d. a day, can only give them a smack. The villagers of Marin who are Protestants acquire habits that denote culture. I have attended their services and observed their good behaviour. When they are insulted they remain silent, and they help others, whether Protestants or Catholics. When the Protestants first began in Marin and at Carril, the treatment meted out to them was very different. One priest said, from the pulpit, 'Do not look at a Protestant's house as you pass by, because you will be struck blind.' These stupidities injure Catholicism instead of reviving it, especially among the sailors and country folk. Another priest refused to allow a parishioner—who, it was alleged, *had been* a Protestant—to be buried in sacred ground. The result was that all the family became Protestants. We must educate and give way in the rights of the Altar. We must be human."

There are probably about 100,000 Protestant Dis-senters in Spain. Statistics for 1909 gave a total of 218 Protestant evangelical places of worship, 20,000 confirmed and converted adults, and 12,000 children in the schools. They maintained 10 evangelical papers (monthly or weekly), 4 hospitals, 4 libraries, and several medical dispensaries.

Sellers of Bibles are the frequent victims of annoyance, ill-usage, and sometimes imprisonment. The method of persecution is almost always the same. A priest assaults the colporteur, or incites the crowd

against him. If he is likely to escape maltreatment, the priest will then follow up anyone who has purchased a Bible and compel him to give it up, under threat of excommunication. The "banned" Bibles are afterwards destroyed by a public bonfire. A few particular cases will illustrate the procedure. In 1897 two colporteurs of the Bible Society were arrested at Premià de Mar, about twelve miles from Barcelona. They were charged with selling Bibles and attacking the State religion. The Bible is regarded as either a forbidden or a clandestine book, although the name and address of the Society appear on every copy. One man was detained for three days, being allowed a wooden table for a bed. Bail was fixed at the almost incredible sum of £325. In 1901 a priest and other persons followed and assaulted a colporteur in Topas. The Mayor having ordered his arrest, he was carried prisoner to the Governor of Salamanca. In due course he was liberated—without compensation. Another colporteur, Don Jaime Garcia, took a stand in the Paseo de la Isla during Burgos fair, and sold Bibles to the holiday-makers. Some priests came upon the scene and entered into an altercation with Garcia and several sympathisers. Certain influential Catholics thereupon suspended the argument by overturning the stand. Then they trampled upon the books, afterwards destroying many of them, and throwing others into the river.

Article ccxxxvi. of the Penal Code enacts that penalties shall be inflicted upon "all persons who, by means of threats, violence, or other form of unlawful pressure, shall compel a citizen to commit a religious act

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or attend the services or functions of a sect to which he does not subscribe," but Catholics are rarely punished for infringing this law. Another clause protects those who attend or assist at religious services, specially mentioning, as an offence "within the meaning of this Act," the case of such persons as, while a funeral procession, headed by the Cross and parochial clergy, is passing, decline to uncover their heads after they have been invited to do so by the clergyman in charge. That regulation might be unexceptionable were it carried out equably, but no Catholic is compelled to respect the funeral cortège or service conducted by Dissenters or agnostics. During June, 1909, as a procession went down St. Mary Street, Barcelona, a cab-driver omitted to remove his hat. The priest immediately left his place, thrashed the offender, and then handed him over to the police. In March, 1910, Antonio Alemán Milán was prosecuted by the parish priest of St. Domingo (Las Palmas, Grand Canary) for refusing to uncover during his procession; the man was fined £1, and imprisoned for eight days. A carter in Calatayud was obliged to stop his mule in a side street until a Catholic procession passed. The man objecting to uncover, the priest knocked him down. Rising and using threats—the carter had no time to act—he was given in charge, sentenced to one month's imprisonment, and fined £2 besides. Though the priest had committed a common assault, he was not even prosecuted. Dissenters usually stay at home when traffic is suspended—sometimes for thirty-six hours at a time (Good Friday)—in order to allow a dozen or more Catholic processions to prom-

enade the town. Moreover, garrisons and police are compelled to turn out in full strength to escort and protect these ceremonial marches. When the city councils of Barcelona, Valencia, etc., decided not to interfere with the traffic (trams, etc.) during Holy Thursday and Good Friday, 1910, a fierce agitation arose in clerical circles. Deputations interviewed the Mayors, and Women's Catholic Societies and priests interviewed the Civil Governor, to persuade him to reverse the decision. But in vain: for once the streets were not monopolised during two full days in Holy Week.

Cemeteries for the burial of those who die outside the Catholic communion are sanctioned by an Act of 1855, and a Royal Order of 1872 authorised local authorities to provide, at the ratepayers' expense, civil cemeteries, which, however, must be walled off and furnished with a separate entrance from the portion reserved for Catholics. Town councils and Dissenting religious societies were empowered to construct special civil cemeteries, the latter bodies to bear the cost of making and maintaining them. Singular to say, both Act and Royal Order are void of effect in many towns and villages.

In October, 1908, the Mayor of Aviñonet, near Figuéras, the Protestant pastor of the latter town, Alejandro Lopez, the director of *El Heraldo*, a local monthly evangelical paper, and Señor Gimbernat, master of Vilabertran Protestant day school, were prosecuted by the vicar of Aviñonet, Father Ricardo Soldevilla, for the illegal burial of Gimbernat's boy in

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a civil cemetery which was not quite ready for use. Interment according to Catholic rites was the only alternative. The Mayor's offence consisted in authorising the burial. The vicar admitted in court that he had secretly baptised the child whilst its father was absent in Barcelona. Thus the Church claimed the right of interment. The sentences were two months' imprisonment and fines of £6, with costs. Appeals to the High and Supreme Courts being unavailing, the four men served their sentences in August and September, 1909.

Early in the morning of April 18th, 1909, three explosions of dynamite took place in three corners of the boundary wall of the new Protestant cemetery at Arteyo, near Corunna. A fourth explosive was found at the remaining corner. Considerable damage was done, but the criminal was never discovered. It was a priestly explosion. In December, 1905, a wealthy Cuban died near Ferrol. He bequeathed his fortune to the poor, and directed that his remains should receive civil interment. The priest refused consent and locked the cemetery gate. The local council thereupon made a breach in the wall and carried out the dead man's last wishes. During May, 1909, the daughter of Fernandez Peñafiel, secular schoolmaster, was buried, civilly, in Sestao cemetery. The doctor certified death from pneumonia, but the Mayor, a Catholic, ordered exhumation, within two hours, under plea of demise from infectious disease.

Priestly violation of the last hours of life is far from rare, especially in rural districts, and is not un-

known even in populous centres. A case of such interference in Bilbao, in 1910, created some sensation, as this anti-clerical town was not regarded as a likely spot for such an outrage. Informed that a young married woman, Dolores Echevarria, was at the point of death, a Catholic priest of St. Anton's church, accompanied by his curate, visited the house with the intention of administering extreme unction. Owing, however, to the outcry raised by some neighbours, in the temporary absence of the husband, the priests were unable to achieve their end, and had to beat a hasty retreat to avoid rough handling. The foiled priests took ample revenge. According to the wish of the deceased, her body was to be interred in the civil portion of the cemetery, but the parish priest refused the necessary permission. Republicans, Socialists, and Trade Union Committees immediately forwarded a petition to the Premier, Moret, requesting him to authorise the Governor of Bilbao to sanction a civil funeral. The Governor, anxious not to offend the ecclesiastical powers, declined to intervene, and though the family and friends held a civil burial service, the body was interred next morning in the Catholic cemetery. The deceased was a member of a local Women's Socialist Society, and the widower is treasurer of a Workmen's Institute. Both held anti-Catholic opinions. The Madrid *Heraldo* thus commented on the case :—

“ Every Spaniard, despite the Constitution, and the respect due to his conscience, belongs in fact, and partly in law, to the Church, although he may have expressed his wish to live and die outside its jurisdiction. The State is supposed to be

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supreme in matters of birth, marriage, and death, yet its position even in these respects seems to be subordinate to that of the Church. In order to recover the plenitude of his rights the individual must expressly renounce ecclesiastical beliefs, and declare that he does not profess Catholic opinions. And even then he cannot free himself, as is witnessed by the case of the unhappy woman in Bilbao, whose last hours were darkened by disputes and violence, and whose body, during several days, was deprived of interment and the lasting peace of earth—more pious and more sacred than that of ministers of religion. This abdication of the State [referring to the Governor's action] is repugnant to the Liberal conscience, one of whose hopes is that the legal regulation of personal affairs may be restored to the normal condition, in which the State shall take the first and the Church the second place."

Compulsory civil marriage, with civil registration, was established in 1869, and the law was made effective by a further Act of 1870. This was transformed by a Royal Decree of February 9th, 1875, which declared that marriage contracted according to "sacred canons" had the civil rights that were recognised before the Act of 1870, and that all Catholic marriages celebrated during the interval were valid, provided the names of the contracting parties were signed in the civil registry. Further Royal Orders of March 2nd, 1875, and June 19th, 1880, authorised magistrates to admit to civil weddings only those who openly proved their dissent from the Catholic religion. During this period, many nominal Catholics took advantage of civil marriage. The Decree which thus annulled the law was intended to protect the Church and her fees. Count Romanones decreed further liberties for civil marriage in 1906,

but Maura reversed matters in the following year. Magistrates, especially in rural districts, often refuse to grant civil marriage to non-Catholics. In these affairs of rights of conscience a terrorism is exercised which an Englishman cannot understand in the twentieth century. Divorce is entirely controlled by an ecclesiastical court — the Tribunal de la Rota — to which the State contributes about £6,000 a year.

CHAPTER VI

THE PROBLEM AND THE PERIL

How Spanish Catholicism Fosters Credulity—Irreverent Behaviour at Church Services—Immorality of the Clergy—Abuse of the Confessional—Physical Torture in Convents—Burial in Religious Houses—Privileges of Religious Orders—Monastic Trading: a Grave Economic Problem—General Weyler's Condemnation of the System—Militant Friars—The Church in Spain a Decadent Force—Testimony from Spanish Catholics—Church or People?

CREDULITY is sedulously fostered by Spanish Catholicism. Of this evidence abounds on all hands, but a few characteristic examples will suffice. A palm leaf bought in a church or "authorised" shop, and placed on the balustrade or balcony of a house, acts as a charm against witches, Satan, and the Evil Eye. A crude illustration of the horrors of Purgatory forms a "property" fixture in almost all Catholic churches. A tariff of requiem masses with music, besides fees for every priest who intones responses, appears on the back of every church door. A ribbon purchased from the black wooden image of the Virgin at Montserrat Convent, near Barcelona, cures headache, and another, from the Virgin's waist, saves a woman in childbed. Such things may cause regret or ridicule, according to the temperament of the reader, but they are undoubtedly a good source of revenue to the Church. Moderate-minded people

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may condone the simple faith of those who believe in their divine efficacy and spiritual comfort, whilst preferring the point of view of English Catholicism which has generally relegated them to the region of superstition. A mass or prayer can be purchased for almost any purpose, and is as readily obtainable in anticipation, and in favour of the consummation of the *intention*, as for forgiveness of a deed.

Behaviour at services in church frequently makes the judicious grieve and the English Catholic blush for very shame. My wife and I once attended a cathedral on the Saturday before Easter. Half of the people stood, though chairs might be hired for a few coppers. During the service young men and women shouted to each other and exchanged lewd observations. Laughter and bad language were heard on every side, and, at the Elevation of the Host, the congregation either stood on chairs or rushed towards the High Altar to obtain a good view. We were left almost alone near the west end of the church. About the close of the service, when the time came for the retrocessional to the Altar of the Blessed Virgin (situated under the west window), there was a stampede in order to make room for the priests, acolytes, and choir. We left the cathedral saddened at such prostitution of one of the most solemn services of the whole Catholic calendar. At the Misa del Gallo, or "Cock Mass" (from midnight until 2 a.m.), as the Christmas Eve service is termed, a disgraceful exhibition of debauchery and immorality is too often witnessed.

But, if the conduct of so-called worshippers be

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unscemly, what must be said of the clergy themselves ? As one passes along the street one has but to analyse the facial expressions of the priests, to ascertain the sort of men who form the Spanish ministry. Sensuality, self-indulgence, and animalism write themselves large upon most countenances. Recruited chiefly from the lower middle classes, badly educated, hot-blooded, and subjected to the rigours of enforced celibacy in a warm climate, they readily succumb to temptation. Their ignorance is betrayed by the violent ebullitions and diatribes against "infidels" so often fulminated from their pulpits, but their open immorality and the frequent perpetration of crimes of passion, some of which are diabolical in the extreme, are a standing reproach to the Church, and a scandal to society.

To every Spaniard the priest's "housekeeper" is a byword and shaking of the head. As often as not, she is his unlawful "wife" The fact cannot be hidden. She is the priest's "mistress." When she disappears, everybody knows why. Perhaps there are one, two, or three "nephews" and "nieces" in the vicarage whom the minister is kindly "bringing up." Sometimes the priest lives "openly"; and bishops are by no means blameless. When I was in a little village which I could name, an English resident drew my attention to a young priest who was talking to a young woman whilst two children were playing round them. "That is the priest's wife," I was told, "and those are his children. Everybody in the village knows it," he added, "and nobody troubles about it." Nor does rumour spare nunneries and convents. The vow of celibacy and

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chastity "goes by the board." The abuse of the confessional is also notorious. "*Ay! Que bestia es padre —!*" "*Que bruto es aquel cura!*" ["*Ay! What a brute is Father So-and-So!*" "*What a brute that priest is!*"] are common expressions among Spanish women. The husband will answer: "*Que podemos hacer?*" ["*What can we do?*"] These are not exaggerations. Though clerical delinquencies are generally hushed up, hundreds are reported every year in the Press. They are never recorded by Catholic journals, but Catholic parishioners know that they are true. A book on priestly immoralities and murders in Spain compiled from data within, say, the past fifteen years, would startle all Christendom. They constitute the shame of Spanish clerical life.

Compulsory inspection of convents is probably more necessary in Spain than in any other European country. The State, despite the 1887 Law of Associations, has no control whatever over their rules and discipline, and can only enter after the perpetration of intramural crime—a right which is rarely exercised. The reason is that clerical influence secures immunity for the administration of these institutions, and thus criminals are afforded every facility for evading justice. Indeed, the great majority are never found after the crime is committed and publicly exposed. Nuns have thrown themselves into the streets and called upon passers-by to deliver them from their persecutors. Sometimes the unhappy women are killed; sometimes they are badly bruised and injured. Many, however, suffer lifelong shame rather

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than face the terrors of excommunication. I have read of instances where an "escaped nun," denouncing the immoralities and cruelty to which she was subjected, has been certified "insane" by Catholic doctors, and immediately cast into an asylum.

Cognisant of these crimes and misdeeds, hot-headed Republicans and Anarchists hardly discriminate between Protestants and Catholics. "*Vosotros sois los mismos perros que los Catolicos, aunque teneis collares distintos. Primero acabaremos con ellos, despues con vosotros!*" ["You are the same dogs as the Catholics, although you wear different collars. First we shall finish with them, and then with you!"] Confronted with a faith whose practice is repugnant to them, they judge Catholicism as being everywhere the same, and deem Protestantism to be a second edition of it. Thus are they driven into rank atheism, and detest all religions with a consuming hatred.

Of physical torture in convents and monasteries it is more difficult to speak, but several Spanish writers have testified to its existence from inside experiences of the "discipline." "Fray Gerundio," an expelled priest, and not an agnostic, contributed a series of articles to the Republican daily, *El Diluvio*, of Barcelona, during January, 1910, and demonstrated that, strictly in consonance with conventual regulations, physical torment was admissible and acknowledged. He produced copies of rules and sometimes gave the Latin text of many conventual Constitutions. Some "disciplines" prescribed fasting for several hours before punishment; others provided for torture in parts of

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the building where cries could not be heard by the other nuns.

The Escolapian Fathers—or the Order of Pious Schools for the Poor of the Mother of God, founded in Madrid in 1761—one of the most powerful Orders in Spain, devote nine chapters of their Constitution to penal rites. Chapter II. prescribes whipping in the refectory, an operation which takes place before or after meals, in the presence of other monks. The degradation of eating off the bare floor without meat or wine is another penalty. Chapter III. indicates discipline, and one day's fast on bread and water. Chapter IV. announces bread and water in the refectory, and one month's incarceration in cells. Chapter V. refers to imprisonment for more than one year, and even a life sentence, upon a diet of bread and water. The latter punishment, unfortunately, can be carried out to-day in ecclesiastical prisons.

The Augustinian Friars devote thirteen chapters to punishment regulations. Grave offences (Chapter XIX.) receive imprisonment and flogging, prostrations in the choir or refectory (where the brothers walk over the culprit), and solitary confinement. Certain dishonest (meaning "immoral") actions are visited by life imprisonment, with liberation at the pleasure of the General after the expiry of twenty years. Chapter XX. provides that such as are "scandalous" shall be imprisoned and mortified with fasts and abstinence (monastic law interprets "mortify" as "torment"). Chapter XXI. punishes the apostate who leaves the monastery without consent by requiring his appearance stripped to

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the waist. He shall then receive two "disciplines" (floggings), confess his faults, and be subjected to the penalty for grave offences for as long as the prelate shall enjoin; during this time he shall present himself to the Chapter once a week, in order to undergo the administration of "*disciplina circular*," or thrashing with a stick.

José Ferrandiz, an ex-priest, was informed of an atrocious episode by a relative of his who learned the facts while serving his novitiate in an Augustinian convent in Murcia. One day the novice was accosted by a friar who, behind the bars of his cell, told him that he had been confined there for fifteen years. The poor fellow said he was fed on vile food, and got only dry bread on Fridays; for two days he had not received any food, and for three days had been without water. The novice rushed off to fetch food and water, and, on his return, was caught by Father Gomez, who threatened him with a similar fate. However, the young man knocked the elder monk down, and escaped from the convent. Immediately friars and superiors, finding cajolery of no avail, tried to *arrest* him, but the novice's mother lied, and hid him until nightfall, when he fled to Valencia, where he afterwards became a doctor. It is incumbent on the Church to investigate these accusations. Let her at once appoint a Commission of Inquiry composed equally of Catholics and Dissenters, with power to study her monastic and conventual rules and regulations and to examine and cross-examine witnesses, with a view to elicit the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. Silence or indifference will be

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equally fatal. If the indictment remain unanswered, the judgment of the whole civilised world will go against her by default.

Considering that the religious Orders have had ample opportunity to strengthen their position, one expects to learn that they are exceptionally favoured bodies. Certain of their privileges may be mentioned. One extraordinary right they possess is that of interment within the walls of their monasteries and convents. I believe that the bodies are generally disembowelled before burial, and the legs and arms bound. The corpses are placed in niches and compartments between the outside walls and then carefully closed up. Before me as I write is a photograph (taken during the revolt of July, 1909) of a burial gallery within the Capuchin monastery of Barcelona. Some remains are perfect skeletons, others are partially decomposed, others present bare skulls, whilst the major portion wear the usual headgear and garments. Custom varies, and bodies are laid horizontally, or hang vertically from the inner walls and niches. In my picture all occupy vertical attitudes. At the foot of the photograph is a row of coffins, apparently those of juveniles. The fact that these bodies were found by ignorant crowds during the disturbances gave currency to a statement that monks, and especially nuns, had been murdered and then secretly interred inside the convents to avoid detection of crime. These convent cemeteries in the middle of populous thoroughfares constitute a menace to public health. Whether the demise were due to infectious fever or senile decay does not affect the

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question, and since there is no legal access to a convent except for criminal offences, the community is entitled to harbour the suspicion, whether groundless or well substantiated, that mysterious deaths and serious crimes are at times concealed from justice by the prevalence of this insanitary and possibly abominable practice. In the interest of their Orders, both convents and monasteries would be well advised to conform to decency and publicity in the disposal of their dead.

Police and judicial authorities may demand entry into religious houses where criminal offences are alleged to have taken place, but they seldom exercise the right because of the imminent risk of being reported and reduced in the ranks, in consequence of the influence wielded by the Church. Conventual rules and regulations are not subject to State sanction. The bishops and ecclesiastical law alone control them.

In local and high courts of justice, monks and nuns are accorded certain privileges both as prosecutors and witnesses. They are regarded as ecclesiastical experts, and barristers refrain from submitting them to rigid cross-examination.

Monks and friars are exempted from military service. On November 16th, 1899, Señor Morayta announced a private Bill to annul this concession, which is not based upon legislation, but ordained by a Royal Order. Señor Dato replied: "As we live in a Catholic country, we grant this exemption to religious Orders."

Monastic trading and manufacture constitute an important privilege as well as a gross abuse. Although

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the law prescribes that religious Orders engaging in industrial pursuits shall pay taxes, equally with manufacturers and traders, this is not enforced, save in those cases in which production is undertaken upon so large a scale that connivance at infringement is impracticable. In many localities, however, officials and governing bodies stand in such dread of the spiritual and financial power of the monasteries and convents, that these either enjoy practical immunity or pay only a small proportion of their proper assessments under local and national taxation. Strict inspection of the institutions, coupled with examination of their books, would infallibly demonstrate that the State is defrauded of thousands of pounds of legitimate income every year. But no Government has dared to tackle this question. On March 18th, 1910, the Chancellor of the Exchequer issued a circular to his provincial staff stating that all congregations, communities, and religious bodies were obliged to contribute to land, municipal, industrial, and income taxation, as well as death duties and other forms of State and local imposts. His officers were ordered rigorously to comply with the order. The circular was an admission that these bodies did not pay taxes, but it will require more than an order to enforce payment in the majority of cases.

The Concordat, in perpetuating and subsidising the two female (and two male) Orders dedicated solely to a "contemplative life" (seclusion, devotion, and abnegation of worldly pleasures), education, teaching, and charity, never dreamt of their becoming trading concerns in competition with tradespeople and industrial

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workers. It was plainly implied that State funds and protection were only to supplement pious legacies and contributions, and for this reason, and because of their objects, as laid down by their Constitutions, they were freed from liability to ordinary taxation.

It will be interesting to ascertain what forms this virtually illegitimate trading takes. In Figuéras, besides carrying on embroidery, sewing, millinery, dress-making, and laundry work, the nuns compete with inns and guest-houses by selling wines and letting apartments, but evade the licences and taxes which legitimate establishments must pay. French monks (expelled under the Combes Act) settled in a village of Gerona, and at first procured their bread from the local baker. Afterwards they built their own bakehouse and the secular baker retired from business. Salesian friars, large milk-dealers in Gerona city, were accused (November, 1906) of fraudulently enhancing their profits by adding 10 per cent. of water. The holy friars tried to prevent analysis, and also to smuggle the milk into the town to avoid the local tax, but were detected in the double intention. During March, 1906, the *Autonomista* of Gerona, commenting on the poverty and misery created in the town by convent employment and factory labour, cited cases in which the nuns forced women to make slippers and do laundry-work fourteen and fifteen hours a day for tenpence and a shilling. By cutting prices they took work from local firms. Both Salesians and Maristas were indicted for sweating. The missionary monks of Segovia, apart from their lawful vocation of education, devote themselves to

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market gardening and fruit culture, while the sisters not only train the infant mind, but make pinafores and light clothing, lace, embroidery, confectionery, and dainties. Their competition is keenly felt by the tradesfolk, who have to pay taxation from which these purely educational Orders are exempted. The friars of the almshouse of the Sacred Heart, in Madrid, undertake letterpress printing, lithography, stereotyping, process-block making, bookbinding, and tailoring. In 1903 they obtained the contract to supply overcoats for the tramway employees of the capital. The Trinitarian nuns of Martin Heros Street, Madrid, "run" a laundry, shops for soap and perfumery, embroidery, and needlework, besides a soap factory. In Seville the Carthusian monks possess a pottery where they manufacture earthenware and china goods, while in Tarragona they have set up their distillery for the famous liqueur which they used to produce at La Grande Chartreuse before their expulsion from France. Before the "tragic" week of July, 1909, there were no fewer than 122 congregations of nuns in Barcelona. One congregation in the suburb of Gracia acted as midwives. Others were weavers, lace-makers, embroiderers, made bead work and other fancy articles, and even succeeded in undercutting a wholesale firm that produced illuminated post cards, heedless of the fact that they threw numbers of poor women out of employment. In Murcia a number of friars replaced civilians in charge of municipally-supported charitable institutions. A priest of Mezquita, in Valladolid province, sold watches, candles, photographs, lamps, etc., and also officiated as a pig-sticker.

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He even advertised his wares from the pulpit and, when business was slack, threatened to withhold absolution from those who refused to deal with him. During 1904 several cigarette-making machines, 10,000 packets of tobacco, and a large number of packets of cigarettes were found in a nunnery near Cadiz.

From these examples, which are representative and by no means exhaustive, it will be seen that there is scarcely a domestic industry which is not subjected to more or less competition from convents and monasteries. This system of unfair trading has reached such dimensions that General Weyler, the "tiger" of Cuba, in assuming office as Captain-General of the four Catalonian provinces, directed particular attention to it (November, 1909).

"Religion," he said, speaking as a pronounced Catholic, "merits all our respect, but one cannot hide the fact that there are too many convents. These have given rise to a very dangerous and serious economic problem, as, in all branches of industry, they are great competitors with small factory-owners and workmen. The nuns, above all, make white clothing, lace, embroidery, and similar goods and garments for large warehouses. They also do laundry-work and sewing, and compete with women who need the money for their homes and children. This explains the anger and hatred of the working classes, and it is necessary to remedy the abuse. We must apply the law to all, and submit the monastic Orders to the same taxation as other people. This is the duty of Government. Spain is Catholic—all Spain is Catholic—and religion will gain considerably if the rancour, complaint, and miseries caused by the excessive number of religious Orders be removed."

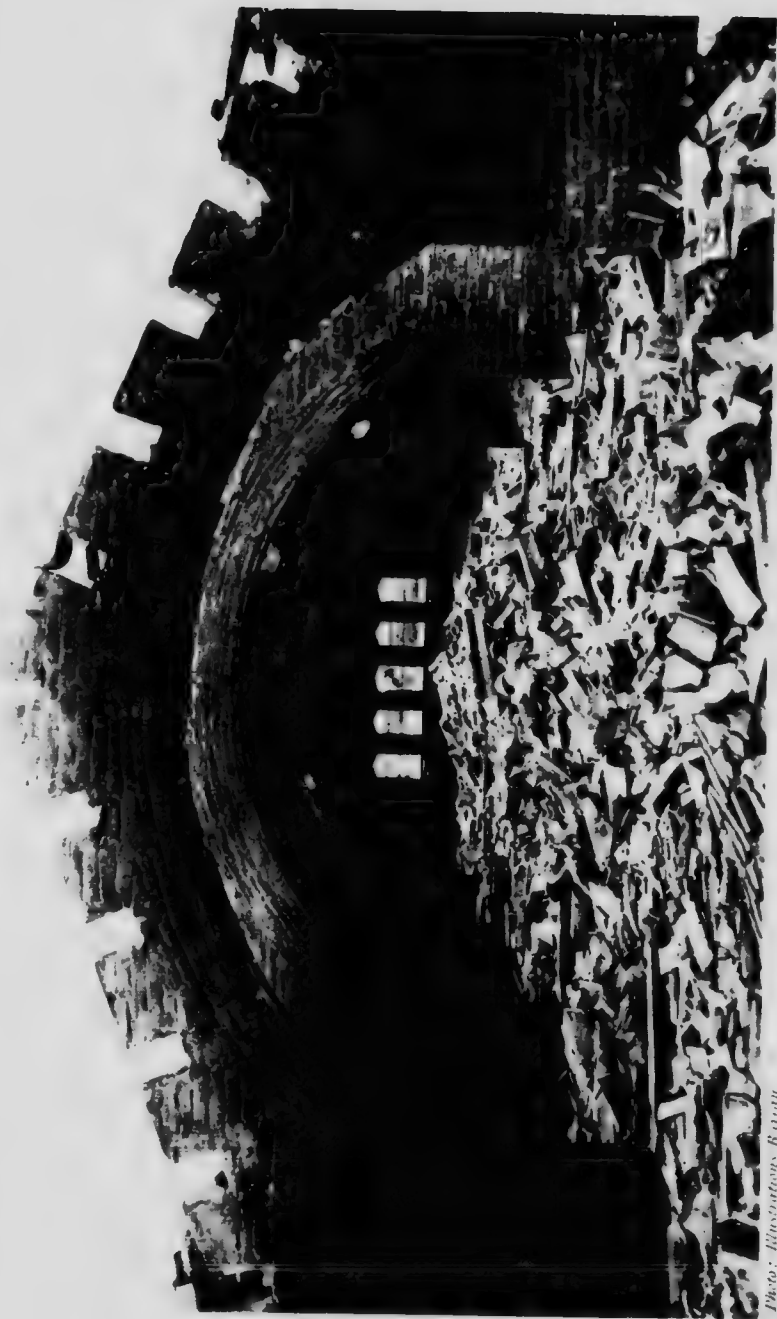


Photo: Illustration, R. D. C.

RUINS OF A CONVENT WRECKED DURING THE BARCELONA REVOLT



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Another singular feature of monastic life calls for mention. Few friars walk the streets without carrying a revolver or dagger. This habit, though deplorable, is significant. It indicates that so many persons have been infuriated by their swagger and aggressiveness that the monks feel their lives in danger. In several monasteries military drill is an adjunct of the devotional and contemplative life. The members of the Order of the Virgin (Mariano) have gone so far as to draw up a code of training. Until the Mauser shall be discarded by the Army—when, presumably, it will be had cheap—every member is to own a Remington rifle and Smith revolver. On certain days the monks must resort to an “unpopulated” place for target practice. The community consists of a fighting line (the lay brothers), and a reserve (the fathers), and a complete plan of defence for the church and “house” has been organised. The defence works comprise the construction of loopholes, embrasures, the sealing of doors, and the barring of windows with iron stanchions and plates. After the revolt of July, 1909, the Jesuits thoroughly fortified their great barrack convent in Calle de Caspe in Barcelona, the municipal authorities being asked for permission “to repair a staircase.” The doors and windows are of steel or iron, and are protected with plates and bars of the same material, and loopholes and embrasures are made in all appropriate parts of the building, while an armoured tower in the centre commands the whole neighbourhood. There are also underground mines and passages.

Having regard, then, to the nature of her *personnel*

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and to the spirit by which this is animated, it is inevitable that Rome in Spain is a decadent moral and spiritual force. She has within her communion numbers of pious, earnest priests, whose lives are a pattern, but they are condemned to obscurity—their heads are never covered by a bishop's mitre. When one beholds such servants of God, ministers of men, and spiritual feeders of the flock, one can only exclaim, "*O si sic omnes!*"

Churches are empty. Although the State maintains parish clergy in the ratio of one to every 800 persons throughout the whole country, the churches are seldom filled, except once or twice in the year. Religious fairs and Saints'-day celebrations are sometimes scenes of immorality and debauchery. The vast majority of the people go to church only for a wedding, funeral, or exceptional service. Wives discharge vicarious piety. The richer womenfolk attend mass; the husband pays. Probably not more than 25 per cent. of Spaniards are convinced Catholics, while not 10 per cent. attend service. Doubtless Rome administers baptismal and marriage rites and extreme unction to 75 per cent. of the people—but hardly more. That families of the middle and upper classes constitute her congregations, that the working classes almost entirely ignore churchgoing, and that many Republicans shout "Down with Rome!" and "Long live Liberty!" in cafés and meetings, whilst secretly allowing their wives and children to conform—in the hope of obtaining a "career" by means of the usual "recommendations"—is only additional evidence that Rome in Spain is not a religion,

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nor yet a faith. She is a huge financial corporation; a "Trust" that slowly but surely has secured a controlling voice in the councils of the nation. Where she cannot persuade or compel, she buys; otherwise she tries to crush or kill. If her Catholic statesmen only dared to speak but half of that they know! Her greed in Spain will prove her ruin. More than four hundred years ago a similar policy cost her dearly in England. The account in Spain is rendered to-day. Payment will be wrung to-morrow.

Some Spanish Catholic authorities have frankly "faced the music." *El Laboro*, the official organ of the bishopric of Salamanca, stated (October, 1908), that the clergy were losing ground.

"We must organise the Press and undertake social works such as Trade Unions and Agricultural Brotherhoods. We must leave the sacristy and go to the people. Priests must be priests, and expound the Gospel and exercise other pastoral duties in which they are at present deficient. They must also cultivate a lively understanding of actual problems and circumstances." The religious Orders, it insisted, "should remain in their convents and restore the splendours of austerity, and the perfumes of spiritual life, the odour of sanctity, the true monastic sense of existence, and the intensity of contemplative life of the great days of our Church [in the Middle Ages]."

A Socialistic curate in Madrid, as reported in *El Pais* (December 14th, 1906), declared:—

"When I was a young man, the church where I said Mass was full of the common people, of humble women and workmen, and unhappy beings who found an hour of consolation in religious practices. Now the people go to church

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very little. On the other hand, the church abounds with the well-dressed and aristocracy, whose carriages fill the street. The vicar is contented, but I am sad. The common people are fleeing from the altar, and their retreat makes the church cold."

Ramon de Torre-Isunza, in "The Truth to His Majesty the King" (1902) writes:—

"Our country is marked by greater indifference and more practical atheism than any other in Europe. Religion has power only over a very few consciences amongst us. Catholicism exercises no real influence over the people. . . . Our religiousness is reduced to a Pharisaical formalism, so much the more immoral that it is hypocritical."

Gotorde Berbaguena, in "Our Customs," protests:—

"At first sight it might be thought that we are Catholics. . . . What a deception! What an empty affectation of sentiments we no longer entertain! What a hypocritical submission to a practice that we despise in the depths of our soul!"

In January, 1910, the Catholic *El Noticiero Extremeño* bluntly declared:—

"There are no Catholics in Spain. This must be stated sincerely, be repeated and published to the four winds, in order that no one shall be under any illusions, and that all may know the truth; for it is a work of justice, loyalty, and courage to render to Truth the worship that is due to it. The person who states that there are many Catholics in Spain either lives in a world of ideals or does not sincerely speak what he feels. In Spain, Catholicism is reduced to mere external and metaphorical formulas that have no value in the internal law of conscience or in the world and order of deeds and actions."

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But to-day, as ever, Rome's worst enemies are those of her own household. Like the Bourbons, she learns nothing and forgets nothing. Her answer to all criticism, from within as well as from without, was to establish, in January, 1910, with the full approval of the Cardinal-Archbishop of Toledo, the Catholic Union for electoral purposes and propagandism. Suppression and intolerance are the "notes" of the Union, the character of which will be understood by a citation of the more important rules. The faithful in other lands will see how hopeless the present situation is; how blank the future; how surely Rome is rushing—it cannot be said blindfold—to disaster. God grant that it be not red ruin and the breaking up of laws!

The first rule prescribes "That religious toleration shall be restricted; that all public manifestations by Dissenting bodies shall be strictly prohibited; and that every non-Catholic school shall be suppressed." Rule II. asserts "That the Government shall give effective support to the bishops in preventing the circulation of evil books and textbooks." Rule III. stipulates "That the Church shall have full liberty of education, without interference from official educational authorities, State inspectors, etc." And the spirit of Rule IV. is similar: "That instruction in universities, colleges, seminaries and public and private schools of every class shall conform, in everything, to the Catholic religion, and that the bishops shall have the right efficiently to protect all such education." Rule V. affirms "That ecclesiastical persons [priests, monks, nuns, etc.] shall not be corporally punished by civil authority. They shall not appear before the Courts without previous consent of the bishop, nor shall they be obliged to serve as witnesses or perform low and servile offices, and that ecclesiastical privileges (as with military rights)

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shall be established." Rule IX. states " That, upon reaching the age of puberty, persons of either sex shall have perfect liberty to join any religious Order approved by the Church. Rule X. lays down " That the Bishops shall, of and by themselves, have the right to compel executors of wills to comply with and carry out pious legacies, independently of all civil authority." Growing by what it has fed on, Rule XI. boldly maintains " That any and every non-Catholic Association (though conforming to Christian morality) shall be proscribed and prohibited, and that the judges of the doctrine shall be of this [the Catholic] conformity."

These presumptuous claims, so astounding in their ignorant arrogance, I may venture to summarise in this proposition : The Church of Rome recognises no foundation other than God. She considers herself free and exempt from all State intervention and control, and has absolute liberty to apply whatever penalty she dictates, without submitting it to any secular authority. Further, she maintains the right to educate all the inhabitants in the tenets of her creed, and that all secular functions shall be subordinated to the Papal will and " voice of God." The question is, who shall go under—the Church or the People ?

Rome will only respect the strong man in Spanish politics. Always she has triumphed over chicanery, bluff, and insincerity. From Conservative to Republican and Anarchist, all earnest men admit that the clerical problem supersedes every other, and is the stumbling-block to social, commercial, and political progress. If Government toy with the problem, its solution will pass to the control of forces which have hitherto remained ineffective because they have lacked cohesion.

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These forces are growing every year. To them the Church is "the enemy." These men, and their adherents, form the cream of national intelligence, and are found in Liberal, Republican, and Socialist parties alike, whilst the Anarchists (both intellectuals and revolutionaries) are ready to help to crush a creed that has been the curse of their country.

If Rome, on her part, fail to read the signs of the times, then within a decade—a little less or a little more—a social conflagration will break out in Spain that will light the world.

CHAPTER VII

THE REPUBLICAN PARTIES

Lack of Unity between the Provinces—Señor Morote on the Problem—Provincial Home Rule Needed—Separatism due to Government by Clique as well as to Provincial Antagonisms—Influence of Deficient Communications and of Popular Ignorance—The Catalan Separatists—The Regionalists—The Radicals—The Republican Parties.

HISTORY proves that the spirit of separation within the various provinces has been a source of weakness to Spain, and one of the principal causes of her decadence as a Power. The problem of three centuries ago—that of uniting separate races into one kingdom under an autocratic monarchy—still awaits solution. It has only been modified by the metamorphic influences of time. Not unnaturally a race, proud of its language and character, desires to live its own life and concentrate social, industrial and political activity within its own borders. Perhaps the parochialism of insularity, fostered by the suspicion and prejudice of ignorance, and as yet scarcely broken by modern means of communication and commercial intercourse, has tended to perpetuate provincial jealousy. No longer, however, is the ideal the province with its king; but rather a country with its President, the chief of a local Republic, or—failing this—a provincial parliament, bound to the

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Motherland by considerations of self-defence and self-preservation. Were Portugal's Republic a strong power, or France ambitious, aggressive, and aggrandising, the very integrity of Spain as a national entity might be jeopardised. Such, happily, is not the posture of things, and the remedy may still be applied to the body politic. Would Spanish statesmen but devote themselves to ponder the secret of Great Britain's success—recognition of the solidarity of races, with variety in customs, local life, and administration—they might, within the span of a single generation, restore some of Spain's former glory, renew her national life, and enhance her prosperity. Otherwise, history must record her total eclipse. Catalonia, Vizcaya, and Galicia republics, and Castile a kingdom, would be experiments of the nature of extravaganza that could not survive a ten years' test in the twentieth century. For the provinces are the natural integral parts of a national whole, and the problem is to solidify and retain, not to separate and obliterate them in some fantastic and artificial scheme for rearranging the map of the Peninsula. Let Spain take warning from the slow but sure dismemberment of Morocco. Her duty is to restore impaired health and harmony throughout the length and breadth of the realm.

As Señor Morote has pointed out in his "*La Moral de la Derrota*," the physical characteristics of the country—regions divided by deep rivers and high mountains; great range of climate; rich and varied products of a teeming soil; difficulty of communication, owing to the contour of the land, between one district

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and another, even to this day traffic being conducted on the Roman roads—all conduce to create diversity of habits, customs, occupations, language, interests, belief, ideals, and even sentiments. Hence Spain appears as though made by Nature to accommodate

“a small number of small nations. They form a Spanish people, but one and multiple, as is the geographical structure. Moreover, the invasion of many distinct races has completed the varieties furnished by Nature. From the East, from the North, and from the South, Europe and Africa have conspired to make confusion worse confounded. Iberians, Celts, Phœnicians, Greeks, Carthaginians, Romans, Alans, Visigoths, Slavs, Arabs, Jews, Syrians, Berbers, and Moors, beguiled by the dream that the Elysian Fields of Homer lay in Spain, in turn took possession of the soil.

“In spite of these different conquests, however, most Spaniards are dolichocephalous [long-headed], as were their primitive ancestors, the Iberians. To-day, therefore, despite the unity of the nation, we may trace in some of the inhabitants the Celt, in others the merchants of Tyre, in a third group the individualism of the Goths, in a fourth the virtues and vices of the Moors—and so on. Not even the cephalic index demonstrates common origin. Are Cantabrians and Asturians Romans because Augustus subjugated them? Romans and, later, Arabs have influenced customs, dress, religion, and language, but failed to reduce the race, because they could not, to a single type. The language of the Basques, instead of being flexible, is agglutinate, and will remain on Spanish soil. Their liberty has been taken from them, but not their tongue. In Spain there are distinct racial types which never are confounded. Every form of unity—political, administrative, religious, juridical, economic—has been achieved save one, namely, the anthropological. Thus to speak of the Spanish race is a misnomer. . . . Centuries of blood

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and fire have not blotted out these differences, just as iron or fire cannot (and have not been able to) make one race of the Irish and English.

"Yet there is one common feature that makes for unity and persistence in the Spanish people. Energy of character, undisciplined and fierce, a powerful sentiment of independence and personal liberty, refractory to the action of the State, and only susceptible of alliances by faith mutually pledged, constitute the true self-spirit of the Iberian and Celtic races of the north. There, under the shelter and isolation of mountains, it was broken, but not extinguished, during the long Roman rule, and was renewed in the period of the invasions by Teutonic races which burst the bonds of Rome, and to which it was akin in disposition. This attribute exercised a permanent influence in our history, and may be said to exercise it still, because the prominent qualities of Spanish character still consist of a prodigious force of resistance—perhaps unequalled in peoples that surpass us in initiative—and of a sense of undisciplined independence. Such qualities weaken the Spaniards, inasmuch as they are inimical to a political state which aims at combining the energy of personal freedom with the order and strength of association. . . . The character of the Spanish people is one—and it *persists*. It will and can be modified, and its fundamental characteristics improved, but it will not totally disappear. . . ."

"After all, however much we may regret that we are not better, more susceptible of union and concord, less inclined to internal strife, it must never be forgotten that these untutored sentiments have enabled us to attain to great things. . . . The virtue of the national character is its powerful sentiment of independence; its vice, the instinct of discord and disunion. Thus the people possess, on the one hand, great inherent capacity to resist extinction as a race and nation; while, on the other, their separatist instincts afford a fatal facility for disintegration at seasons of crisis."

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Until Home Rule for purely provincial matters is conceded, there will always be trouble and dissatisfaction in internal politics. Catalonians have reason to complain of a system which confines administrative control to a bureaucracy of ruling politicians in Madrid. The concerns of provincial life, even in the smallest details, are subject to the veto of persons who are utterly regardless of consequences, and usually ignorant of local circumstances and customs. At the same time, Madrid and the interior have equal right to protest against a selfish organisation of industrial interests which, exploited on various occasions by Catalonian and Viscayan manufacturers, has resulted in a fiscal régime which is a heavy burden upon provinces remote from the seaboard and the markets of those supplies which appreciably cheapen the necessities of life.

Moreover, the problem has often been wilfully misrepresented by the Press and corrupt politicians. The evil is not created merely by rival provincial antagonisms, but is due also to Government by "clique," the chief object of which is financial aggrandisement at the expense of the whole community, irrespective of the province or region which suffers. The situation is aggravated, too, by the absence of adequate rail and road communications, and by the prevailing ignorance. Freedom and ease of intercourse and education have done more to effect reconciliation and unity between the English, Welsh, Scots and, to a lesser degree, the Irish peoples than all the legislative efforts of Parliament. Common sense, in often permitting the races that inhabit the British Isles to conduct their domestic

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affairs, even within the walls of the House of Commons, and to enjoy a considerable degree of freedom in local self-government, without undue interference from London, has created a respect for administration by which the Imperial Legislature has grown firmer, more stable, and more secure. Similar breadth of view in Spain will, in the long run, be similarly beneficial; like causes produce like results.

It may, however, be said with truth that the provinces are not yet agreed as to what they really want. Catalonia, for instance, is not united in her demands. The general complaint is admitted, but there are differences about the remedy. One section fixes upon tariffs; another advocates autonomy by administrators selected chiefly from commercial bodies. There are, however, three distinct lines of cleavage. The irreconcilable section, mainly, though not wholly, reactionary in temperament, would enforce the use of their language in all commercial transactions and administrative functions, and raise the old Catalan flag under an independent Republic, heedless of the fact that Spanish is a universal language, whilst their own mixed French-Spanish tongue could not—comparatively speaking—be as important as Dutch or Danish. These Separatists, supported by considerable wealth and generally aided by the local clergy, who have practically abandoned Carlism, are like the fanatical Irish who would boycott and ostracise the English, to whom, nevertheless, they owe much of the freedom and other rights and privileges which they enjoy. The Catalan Separatists, though they will hotly repudiate the

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designation, are blind to the facts of historical development which prove that progress springs not from social isolation, but from the ready co-operation of neighbouring peoples. These Catalans are really as reactionary as are those they condemn and detest.

The Regionalists are more amenable to reason. Composed of both advanced and Moderate politicians, they differ somewhat upon fiscal problems, but agree in demanding provincial parliaments, with full powers to legislate on domestic matters under a Federal Republic.

The third party, distinctly Radical, are more revolutionary in policy and principle. They advocate Republicanism, with decentralisation in local self-government, Parliament supreme over national affairs, and general taxation and a code of laws which will secure public life and local rule throughout the land upon British lines. Their position resembles that of the English Radical committed to Socialistic legislation, and their policy is most accepted by the Catalonian working men. They are also anti-clerical, and often atheistic.

In 1903 an attempt was made to combine the Regionalists and Federalists under "La Solidaridad," or the Republican Union, of which Salmeron, Costa, and, to a lesser extent, Lerroux, were the leaders. The movement fell to pieces in the following year, and the Lerrouxists quitted the Union, whilst a number of Moderate anti-clericals of democratic tendencies, such as Corominas and Pi y Arsuaga (son of the 1873 Republican President) remained with the party. The ensuing Press campaign of abuse and calumny only

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ended in 1909, when the Solidaridad finally broke up and the clerical Right were left to themselves. The anti-clerical Regionalist and Federalist Republicans, agreeing to differ, formed a Republican-Socialist *bloc*, forced upon them by Maura's repressive tactics, after a conference in Madrid during October, 1909.

Broadly, the Republican parties consist of (1) Governmentalists; (2) Catalan Nationalists; (3) Coalitionists.

The first section, led by Rafael Labra, Ojeda, and Melquiades Alvarez, support the Radical Monarchists under Canalejas, under the expectation that he will pass democratic social reforms, which, as long as the Monarchy lasts, the Republicans themselves could not hope to realise within the immediate future.

The Catalan Nationalist Republicans are, in reality, Federalists, holding undefined Separatist tendencies, and are analogous to the Irish Nationalists. They are not precisely anti-Spanish, but they are pro-Catalans and anti-Castilians, combining against the centralised domination of Madrid and Castile. They are similar to the Clerical Nationalists—more or less Carlist in complexion—with the difference that, whilst the latter are reactionaries, the former are democrats. Their chief tribunes are Pedro Corominas—a brilliant writer and ex-Anarchist, who, after suffering imprisonment in Montjuich (1896-1897), described the horrors of the torments in a remarkable book, written in Catalan, "*Las presons imaginarias*"—Vallés Ribot, Salvatella, and Cruell.

The Coalitionists comprise (a) Republican Moderates,

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led by Perez Galdos, Sol Ortega, and Azcarate; (b) Radical Republican Autonomists, who support the autonomy of the regions, or old Spanish Kingdoms, such as Catalonia, Navarre, Valencia, Andalusia, Old Castile, Aragon, Murcia, and Galicia. They are inspired by Lerroux, Giner de los Rios, and Azzati. (c) Federalists, whose principal platform is local autonomy (municipal and county council administration), and who are led by Estevanez and Pi y Arsuaga. (d) Socialists of Marxian colour who have joined the Republican *bloc*. They are directed by Pablo Iglesias, a former Madrid city councillor; and (e) many Syndicalists, or revolutionary Trade Unionists, and Anarchists, who are disposed to support the Coalitionists—apart from political considerations—and exclusively by means of “direct action” (strikes and revolts), in order to hasten the triumph of the Revolution. It will be readily understood that sectional divisions have always been the weakness of Spanish Republicanism.

CHAPTER VIII

TRADE UNIONISM AND INDUSTRIAL LEGISLATION

Weakness of Trade Unionism—Lack of National Trade Unions—
Strikes in 1908—The General Union of Working Men—The Trade
Union Charter—The Anarchist Section—Factories and Mines
Acts—Miserable Condition of the Working Man—Canalejas'
Projected Institute of Labour—The Law of Tribunals—Old-Age
Pensions—The Sunday Rest Act—Disappointing Results of In-
dustrial Legislation.

SPANISH Trade Unionism falls a long way short of the influence exercised by trade organisations in Great Britain. Although accurate figures are extremely difficult to obtain, in the absence of centralisation and Board of Trade Returns, it is a fact that there are not more than 200,000 trade unionists in the country. Their strongholds are Madrid, Barcelona, Bilbao, Valencia, and certain seaport towns. Instead of large national unions, however, local unions, as of engineers, carpenters, or other trades, form complete societies, each acting independently of similar branches of industry in other towns. This lack of national cohesion weakens efforts for better wages and improved conditions of labour. Many attempts have been made to form national federations of trades, but the Spanish worker, no less than his employer, seems unable to grapple with organisation upon a vast scale. Usually strikes and lock-outs are confined to a single town or workshop,

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and labour troubles extending over wide areas are comparatively rare; whilst the absence of standard wages causes variations of pay in nearly every city.

Few societies can boast of national membership. The National Federation of Typographers (compositors, printers, bookbinders, lithographers) is one of the exceptions. Its headquarters are in Madrid, where more than half its members are employed. It exists chiefly for the purpose of inter-provincial organisation and defence, and leaves financial control of local funds to the branches. Possibly no other trade is better organised than are those forming its membership. There are nearly 20,000 unionists in Madrid, and a similar number in Barcelona. Trades councils, or federations, exist in most large towns, but the little cathedral city of Oviedo has one of the best workmen's organisations in Spain.

Trade Unionism is invariably anti-clerical, and either Republican, or Socialist, or Anarchist in opinion. There is a number of small Catholic unions, but their strength does not exceed 20,000. They are generally used by employers for the purpose of supplying cheap labour during strikes. Known as "esquirols," or "blacklegs," their members are everywhere despised by the ordinary trade unionist.

Of the 497 strikes that are said to have taken place in 1908, almost one-half ended in the workmen's favour; not quite one-third arose out of wage disputes; fully one-eighth concerned hours of working; one-seventh dealt with working conditions, and nearly one-fourth were caused by dismissal of unionists or the engagement

of non-society men. There is no doubt, therefore, that the organised workmen are often prepared to sacrifice their situations, or strike, when attempts are made to boycott their leaders. During the four years ending 1908, strikes settled in the men's favour worked out at 43 per cent. for Barcelona, and 72.9 per cent. for Madrid. All figures referring to industry, however, must be taken with reserve, but they show that Spaniards are by no means averse to a strike. In fact, they generally prefer this method of settling disputes to the uncertain routine of the official Boards, whose decisions are not binding. The disparity between the successes in Barcelona and Madrid is largely accounted for by the fact that the employers in the more centralised cotton mills are better organised than in Madrid—a city of many industries and isolated factories. On the other hand, in consequence of the absence of repression in Madrid as compared with Barcelona, there are probably more unionists in the latter city. The influence of the Socialist party is paramount in the capital, whilst the Anarchists hold sway in the seaport.

Working men's associations generally combine education with organisation, and where a few societies exist it is customary to rent a building for the purposes of business, public meetings, and night schools, or Sunday classes. Co-operation, which has made little headway, is often managed and controlled by trade unions. The General Union of Working Men is the only national federation of trade unions. It comprises some 40,000 members, who are affiliated to a central organisation in Madrid. It is the nearest approach to the British

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Labour Party, although its sphere of influence is confined to a few cities such as Madrid and Bilbao. The membership in Madrid province is 20,000. The party exists for local and Parliamentary representation upon the principles of "class war" typical of the British and German Social Democrats who follow the doctrines of Karl Marx. Hitherto they have not made much impression upon the political world, and, though a growing body, the Anarchist, or anti-political unionist, is of considerably more importance in point of numbers and influence. The General Union possesses a handsome People's Hall in Madrid, with a club and co-operative society, and the time is probably at hand when it will be a social force in the capital, Bilbao, and a few other cities. Its leader is Pablo Iglesias, a veteran Socialist of over thirty years' standing. It has less than 1,000 members in the four provinces of Catalonia.

Trade Unionism practically derives its charter from the Law of Associations, and a decision of the Supreme Court (1902) declared that the right of organisation on peaceful lines was perfectly lawful, and that working-class agitation could only be interfered with when abuses were committed. Such being the law, it is lamentable that local governing officials often intervene and settle strikes illegally. In the case of a disturbance the leaders are sometimes summarily arrested and sentenced to prison upon the flimsiest pretexts. Moreover, the police are ever ready to act, and do not hesitate to enter a trade-union club and destroy most of the furniture and effects. Such facts are too

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common, and frequently cause local disturbances during strikes.

The Anarchist section of Trade Unionism has no national organisation. Its chief organisation is the *Solidaridad Obrera*, a federation of unions in the province of Catalonia, which, at the time of the Barcelona revolution (for which it was mainly responsible, inasmuch as it organised the general strike of July 26th, 1909) had 24,000 members. The officers of these unions do not receive any salary.

Owing to the Barcelona revolt, the Anarchists were unable to hold their usual conference in the following September, and the organisation was adversely affected. But in 1910 they established a National Federation (the *Confederación Nacional Española*) of all non-political and Anarchist unions, partly to counteract the Socialist General Union of Working Men in Madrid. Only one trade union represents each branch of industry in a given locality. Local trades form councils, and select delegates to the county (or provincial) federation, whilst every local union is competent to send delegates to the National Yearly Conference. A central committee in Barcelona governs the head organisation, which is supported by levies from affiliated bodies. The object of the National Federation is to take up offensive and defensive tactics against employers, undertake propaganda, finance trade-union libraries, newspapers, night schools (technical and elementary), and day schools.

Previous attempts, both Anarchist and Socialist, in the same direction have largely failed to be serious

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economic forces because the national temperament is more adapted to sudden strikes and turmoils than to the persistent organisation of trades. A small local union in temporary difficulties has usually to depend entirely or principally upon its own financial resources. Were effective organisation possible, the Anarchist trades would certainly number some 200,000 members. There is much strike but little method in Spanish national working men's societies. But their tactics in surprising small employers by a sudden cessation of work often achieve a victory denied to their British brethren, who lose by giving employers time to prepare for eventualities. Spanish strikes, then, are ordinarily "short and sweet," and violence is frequently resorted to. The worker is a reflex of his Government. When he strikes, there is revolution in the air; when his Government rules, it usually represses.

The condition of the working man is miserable in the extreme. The weekly wage of a city artisan rarely reaches £1, the average being between sixteen and eighteen shillings, whilst the unskilled labourer receives about twelve shillings. House rent, in flats, costs from three to five shillings a week for tolerable accommodation, and the self-respecting skilled workman is almost compelled to pay the latter amount. Consequently his rent is equal to one-fourth of his wage. A blue cotton overall and thin shirt are his usual working attire, with a cheap shoddy suit for feast days and holidays. His shoes are slippers with hempen soles, which, during the rainy season, give him wet feet and cause a distressing amount of rheumatism and bronchial

affections. The price of staple food is much higher than in England. Statistics given by Francos Rodriguez, Mayor of Madrid, on March 12th, 1910, showed that whilst wages in that city had scarcely risen during the past fifty years, the price of a loaf of bread weighing 2 lb. 8 oz. had advanced no less than 72 per cent. The Spanish worker is fully 30 per cent. poorer than his English brother, after making every allowance for a diminution in home requirements and clothing, due to a warmer climate and more open-air life. In fact, but for the climate he could hardly exist. Throughout most of the year his flat is used for little else than sleep, the greater part of his spare time being spent at the café. The workmen and family either dine on the balconies outside their doors or in some cheap café. This habit often misleads foreign travellers. They see operatives and their wives and children, or companies of young persons, in the cafés, or, clad in cheap, gay dresses, perambulating the chief thoroughfares and open spaces during festival days, or indulging in merry dances, but do not realise that these manifestations of hilarity and excitement are the effect of climate and the benevolent sun upon a high-spirited race. The Spanish workman is never comfortable. He is always poor and usually half-starved. The sole redeeming feature of his condition is that it does not combine destitution with starvation from cold. In this respect the sun is the warmest friend of the out-of-work.

Legislators have made many earnest attempts to ameliorate the conditions of labour, but either ignorance of social problems and their true solution or clumsy

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draftsmanship has rendered statutes for the most part ineffective. The Compensation for Accidents Act, though inadequate and often disregarded by factory owners, was one of the most creditable measures in industrial law, and was due to the democratic Conservative Minister, Señor Dato. It provided half of the weekly wage during incapacity, as compensation, in many leading industries. Employers were also compelled to provide supplies of First Aid and ambulance materials. The benefits of the Act, however, are only available in important centres where trade unionism is respected. A Decree of 1909 declared that in agricultural and forest industries no compensation was payable where accidents were caused by motive power.

The failure of the Acts of 1873 and 1878, and, subsequent Decrees ordaining the inspection of factories and mines, and the regulation of child labour, was inevitable seeing that no provision was made in the Budgets for the cost of inspection. Dato's measure of 1900 placed factory inspection under Boards of Social Reform, or committees of masters and men, presided over by provincial governors, which should arbitrate upon compensation claims, collect Government statistics, endeavour to settle disputes, and ascertain how far factory regulations met the law's requirements; as well as supervise inspection, with power to inflict fines for non-observance of working hours and cleanliness of factories. The Boards advised Government upon new legislation, and had some jurisdiction in respect of local tariffs and land cultivation. But of what use was Dato's improved factory inspection when his

Government in the same year only provided £120 for local expenses throughout the country? A pleasant feature of legislation is that women can only resume work three months after child-birth, and employers must allow them two half-hour periods (during working hours, and without loss of wages) in which to suckle their babies. That the Spanish factory hand in large towns has a working week of between 56 and 63 hours is due to trade organisation rather than to legislative enactment. A Regulation of Mines Act, another Conservative measure, by Linares Rivas (1897), provided inspection as to safety and apparatus, with particular attention to the causes of accidents. Special report-books must be kept at the mine, improved appliances must be mutually agreed upon, and fines might be imposed. A curious anomaly of the measure was that managers must report when the safety of workmen was imperilled.

Factories and mines are largely served by children between ten and thirteen years old, whilst street-begging is a scandalous feature in all large towns. This abuse is nowhere more prevalent than in Madrid itself, where it is common to see young girls or boys leading blind men and women or cripples through the streets. A regular system of hire is in vogue, and parents receive weekly fees from professional beggars, who deprave the children and ruin their moral growth. A Conservative measure, in 1904, endeavoured to check the evil, but again the fault of the Act lay in its neglect of administrative provisions. Nevertheless, these measures have had some effect upon national life, and the chief credit

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for industrial legislation must be accorded to the Conservative party.

When Canalejas became Minister of Agriculture in 1902, he attempted to co-ordinate the Acts already passed for the betterment of industry and lay a sure foundation of social progress and reform. He knew that he had not sufficient driving force over the Liberal Right to command systematic compliance and financial support for the efficient administration of existing legislation, but he conceived the idea of forming an Institute of Labour, which should regularly compile and publish statistics which, in a short space of time, would educate public opinion sufficiently to compel Governments seriously to tackle industrial problems. The fact that he only provided an initial grant of £7,000 for the first year's expenses of the Act shows how hopelessly inadequate was the support given to a project calculated, if properly developed, to present a complete picture, in figures and words, of Spain's sad social conditions. The idea was well expressed so far as the regulations and orders went, but the finances were, as usual, miserably meagre.

Embodied in the measure was the provision of a permanent Superior Council of Labour of fifty persons, twenty of whom were to represent employers, twenty to come from trade unions, and ten to be nominated direct. Local Councils were to be composed upon similar lines. Out of the £7,000 per annum Canalejas set apart £1,600 for salaries of eight inspectors, whose apparent duties were to inspect the factories and mines of Spain, a country covering 190,000 square miles. Their total travelling

expenses were fixed at £640 for the year. The Bill failed to become law, and did not reach the Upper House. Canalejas shortly afterwards resigned his portfolio. Silvela, in the debate upon Canalejas' proposed Bill, stated that the Mauser rifle was the safeguard against the advance of the Socialist parties and compelled them to use prudent methods. Canalejas, dealing with this implied resort to force, said :—

“ Silvela is sorry that I give a subordinate place to the influence of the Mauser. We sing the praises of labour and not the destructive progress of force, for besides the rifle, representing so much mechanical perfection, there is that substance of the chemical laboratory which can blow up a factory, and the invention of Nobel, destined for the good of humanity, may be used by the destroyers of social order. Let us not, then, speak of the Mauser. Let us rather speak of justice and right.”

The Conservatives took up Canalejas' abortive measure in 1908, and improved it by a Law of Tribunals. Regulations were issued later. The Act created local boards to adjudicate upon questions between employers and workmen—individually as collectively, where labour contracts are not carried out—and also to settle compensation claims hitherto dealt with in local courts or Social Reform Committees. Convened by the local Boards of Social Reform, they are composed of equal numbers of masters and men with an independent chairman. Under proper securities the Act promises to become a most useful measure. Unfortunately trade unions will not recognise either the Social Reform Juntas or Tribunals, but should this excusable reluctance

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be overcome, and the Act sincerely made operative, by the provision of necessary administrative expenses, the confidence of the working classes may be won, and a valuable statute produce all the good of which it is capable.

Old-age pensions, too, have attracted some attention. A scheme was outlined in the *Gazette* of December 5th, 1883. The Commission of Social Reforms which submitted the project was inspired by Moret. The proposal included pensions and permanent sick allowance upon contributory lines for prematurely incapacitated workers. In 1900 a further scheme was evolved, and in 1904 Moret again advocated it before the Commission of Social Reforms. Señor Maluquer drafted an exhaustive official treatise upon the question, and in this nebulous state the subject was left. Civil servants paid directly by the State, as well as military officers (with reversion to their widows), have the right to a pension on retirement. A Liberal decree (Urzaiz), 1902, gave the employees of excise officers an eight hours' day.

Another labour measure to the credit of the Conservatives was the Act of Sunday Rest, which was passed on March 1st, 1904, during Maura's premiership. It aroused fierce opposition on the part of many influential Liberal organs and leaders. Some denounced it as of clerical origin, while others prophesied it would ruin industry. Its aim was to establish a national rest of one day every week by preventing Sunday-morning labour in factories and the inhuman hours (sometimes 18 a day) of café waiters and shop assistants.

The Act may be said to have reduced factory labour in large cities and industrial centres by four or five hours a week, and to have abolished Sunday labour in mills and factories; while, to a smaller extent, it has made life a little more tolerable to shop assistants and hotel and café servants. But, like so many other statutes, its driving power is weak, and the ideal of one day's rest in seven, without loss of wages, has not been attained by the very Act which was introduced to realise it. Even Liberals are now anxious to enforce the Act, and stiffen its regulations in order to secure the undoubted advantages it offers. To illustrate the respect which is paid to the law, the Madrid police were ordered to proceed stringently against tavern-keepers who should be found infringing it on Sunday, January 9th, 1910. As a matter of fact all the taverns were open on that day.

In Barcelona, on January 10th, 1910, the trade union of waiters and hotel servants approached their employers for better conditions of service and due observance of the law of Sunday Rest, with a working agreement. The masters refused to negotiate, but the threat of a general strike brought them to their senses. Thereupon ensued a conference, under the presidency of Suarez Inclan, the then civil governor, and it was resolved to concede two days' holiday a month, without deduction from wages; the employers to provide substitutes for those on holiday. Hotel cooks, through their union, arranged with their employers an agreement for one day's holiday every month. Article XV. of the regulations governing the law stipulates that—

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"Legally-constituted trade unions shall be authorised to make agreements with employers (singly, partially, and collectively), in industries not exempted from the Act, respecting the conditions and terms of the day of rest. This shall always be not less than twenty-four hours weekly, and without interruption. Workers shall alternate in Sunday holiday, and the employee shall receive his day's wage."

If the law were respected, therefore, the trade union, the employers, and Señor Inclan should have been prosecuted for signing an illegal agreement. The Act provides penalties for infringement.

Industrial legislation has, on the whole, proved a disappointment. It has been content to hover around subjects. When it has ventured to take courage, sooner or later it has grown afraid of its own temerity, and projects for amelioration have accordingly been emasculated and transformed into cruel fiascos.

Public indignation, however, occasionally is voiced in the Press, or by prominent statesmen. The *Heraldo* of Madrid, in its issue for January 10th, 1910, contained a remarkable leader on national poverty. Referring to three deaths and two suicides on the previous day, caused by hunger and starvation, it remarked :—

"The evil occurs not merely in Madrid, but throughout the country, and only a few districts in the north are free from it. Four-fifths of the nation live under miserable, insufferable conditions—and this after ten years of peace, and a succession of Governments that have endeavoured, all of them with good intentions, although they have blundered, to diffuse wealth among the people. Does not the tragedy of the poor explain to our Governments the cause of revolutionary agitations, social fevers, the progress of rebellion,

and the protests of multitudes that have given such a sudden accession of strength to the Republicans? Does it not tell of our ignorance and pessimism? Ask a people hungry to the point of death to take an interest in great ideals, science, beauty, and everything that presumes physical and mental strength, and they will only answer—'Give us bread!' . . .

"The accomplice of the iniquitous law that neutralises the benefits of peace and the efforts to improve the country is our fiscal system—the taxes which are bonds upon capital and labour, and allow rent and income to go free. Thus, whilst the latter devours all it produces and still increases, capital flies from business and the worker emigrates or dies. Our fiscal system must remove this injustice. Taxes must be imposed upon rents and allow capital and labour to be unfettered. The transformation of our system of taxation will satisfy the great, though perhaps unconscious, longing of the people, relieve the urgent necessity of society, and realise the principal mission of modern democracies.

"Hunger and privation are the most daring and most immediate enemies of the Monarchy and public order, because they declare their presence from time to time in the chronicle of events, and daily gnaw at the heart and spirit of the Spanish nation."

Silvela (Conservative), in one of his speeches in Parliament, said that—

"The governing classes had done nothing for twenty-five years except enjoy office, and had neither defended nor improved the country."

The Duke of Tovar, in a special article to the *Heraldo* (January 26th, 1910), wrote:—

"If politicians would examine their consciences they must quake with terror when they saw in all its nakedness how censurable their conduct had been. We have demanded all kinds of sacrifices from the people, and in return have given

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them neither food nor education, neither peace nor comfort. Not only have we done nothing for them, but we have been at the point of depriving them of that liberty which God gives to men as an inalienable right.

"The high cost of living, the prevalence of typhus fever and small-pox, inhabited dwellings more fitted for moles than human beings, the army of beggars in our cities and public roads, workless men and country labourers who live in caves and feed upon herbs, over 1,000 municipalities that have no shambles or slaughterhouses, the taxes that Spaniards pay (15 per cent. higher than in England), the lack of irrigation works, and one-third of the soil barren and unproductive—these greet every onlooker. Let us circumscribe the social question, and see what has been done in our country? With the exception of the happy and plausible initiatives of Señor Dato, nothing, or almost nothing, has been done. The social question is more acute in Spain than in any other country, because of its misery and because no one has tried to palliate the evils with opportune remedies. Those who produce the wealth do not enjoy it; those who sow wheat do not transform it into flour; thousands are ignorant of the blessings of civilisation, and live as in prehistoric times, whilst districts such as the Hurdes remind us of primitive man and cry aloud for the bread of body and soul. For the old worker there is nothing but humiliating alms or the workhouse [*asilo*]. The workhouse will not hold them, and frequently we hear of white-haired men dying in the streets or in the fields. Unless we remedy this state of affairs, we are not worthy of the name of Christians."

CHAPTER IX

SPANISH ANARCHISM

The Cause of Spanish Anarchism—Distrust of Parliament—Anarchists as Educators—Anarchist Journals—"Civilisation the Enemy"—The International Association of Workers—A Protest against Robbery and Violence—Assassinations—Arrest of Professor Torrida del Marmol—The Atrocities of Montjuich and of Valencia—Strikes at Barcelona and Bilbao—Feebleness of Socialism in Spain.

ANARCHISM in Spain is not a national disease, nor the outward manifestation of working-class insanity. It is the industrials' indictment of a government which has signally failed to accomplish social betterment by political means. The half-educated worker has been taught by long and bitter experience that Parliament is insincere, and where his Latin temperament rejects revolutionary Republicanism, his ardent spirit also refuses to entertain the alternative of the Marxian Socialists, whose irreconcilable attitude towards Republicanism he cannot appreciate, and he turns towards the ideal of a social structure divorced from what he deems retrograde politics and arbitrary, unjust laws. This is the reason why manufacturing Barcelona and the province contain at least 50,000 men who have embraced Anarchist Communism, and are ready to plunge, imprudently, it may be, and without weighing probabilities, into strikes and revolts. The teachings of Bakunin,

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Reclus, Malato, and their revered leaders, the late Fermin Salvochea, Anselmo Lorenzo, and Ricardo Mella, and many capable writers and speakers, have proved a veritable gospel to the working men.

Whatever may be said to the contrary, the Spanish workman will not adopt political ideas and follow constitutional methods until a drastic reform takes place in Parliament. Some critics, accustomed to the general but erroneous conception of Anarchists as bomb-throwers, are unable to grasp the remarkable fact that almost every Anarchist club or section, apart altogether from propagandism, is a popular centre for working-class education. Consciously, or unconsciously, Anarchists have perhaps done more in proportion to their influence and numbers, to encourage a taste for intellectual improvement amongst the masses than has any other organisation in the country. Elementary and often scientific night-school and Sunday-school education is inseparable from organised Anarchy in Spain. In this direction much of the slight advance in the provision of day schools in large cities has been brought about by Anarchist efforts since 1870 or thereabouts.

Among Anarchist journals may be mentioned *La Voz del Obrero* (Tarrasa), *El Obrero Moderno* (Igualada), *Solidaridad Obrera* (Gijon), and *Tierra y Libertad* (Barcelona). The last-named is the principal organ. During 1905 it was issued as a four-page daily, with a circulation of 10,000 copies, under the editorship of Urales, but in consequence of frequent confiscation of copies and editions by the authorities, as

well as financial strain and internal dissensions, it was again converted into a weekly, and has a circulation of 8,000 copies. A monthly magazine, *Luz y Vida*, is published in Oviedo. Probably the whole circulation of some twenty Anarchist papers, weekly or monthly, amounts to about 70,000 copies. There are, however,

least two readers to every purchaser. The chief trade-unionist journal of Anarchist tendencies is the four-page *Solidaridad Obrera* of Barcelona, with a circulation of 10,000 copies or so. Pamphlets and leaflets are a prominent feature of propagandism. The most popular author is Anselmo Lorenzo, of Barcelona, who was a member of the Spanish branch of The International, formed in 1871.

Spanish Anarchists have made Fourier's aphorism—"Civilisation is the enemy"—their watchword and battle-cry. Their method is the general strike and violent revolution. To the actual form of civilised society they attribute poverty and class barriers which perpetuate discontent. They seek to establish a less complex organisation, in which authority and law shall cease to regulate human conduct, giving place to mutual help, founded upon individual freedom, the full enjoyment of which will satisfy personal conscience and duty, while respecting the rights of others. That is simple Communism, unfettered by legal regulations, and, as an ideal, it constitutes the highest form of human organisation, which would only seem to be possible when men and women have reached that state in which they shall be only a little lower than the angels. It is not to be wondered at that these sentiments,

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addressed to a populace unusually gifted with imaginative faculties, and subjected to a form of domination which has always been more repressive than responsive to cries of suffering and demands for redress, have had a marked influence. Where law is an open fraud, public life a chimera, and politics the personification of corruption, the cry of "No law!" is a logical and natural answer to law which usually carries its own negation and refutation. This fact should be pondered by critics and students of "libertarianism," or Anarchist Communism. Of course, precept alone never satisfies the ardent spirits, who demand practice by revolutionary methods. Thus, Spanish Anarchy, whilst embracing the philosophy of Kropotkin, Reclus and others, has consistently advocated pronounced revolutionary propaganda and tactics.

In 1868 the International Association of Workers was formed, and two years later the first National Congress was held in Barcelona. In 1871 the executive, compelled to leave Madrid, withdrew to Lisbon, where it established the Portuguese organisation. The Conference at Valencia in the same year gave an impetus to the movement, but notwithstanding an appeal for toleration by the Republican triumvirate—Pi y Margall, Castelar, and Salmeron—The International was declared to be illegal. Despite the law, the Conferences of 1872 and 1873, at Saragossa and Cordova, bore fruit in several new societies, although the Republican agitation of 1873 induced many to participate in more purely political propaganda. The secession did not last long, however, and the workers soon generally adopted

the principle of economic action and revolution in preference to politics, thus agreeing with Bakunin, who, with the aid of the Spanish delegates, overthrew the Social Democrats, under Karl Marx, at the Geneva Conference in 1873. At the Restoration of 1874 The International was dissolved by Government. Many Catalonian Anarchists were transported to the Carraca penal prison at Cadiz, whilst in Alcoy similar action was taken, and many Andalusians were shipped to penal settlements in the Marianne Islands. These "mediæval" punishments occasioned the reprisals which have, ignorantly, rendered the term Anarchism a synonym for "bomb-throwing."

During the early years of the Restoration, the organisation suffered a severe check. Recent converts, terrified by persecution, abandoned the ranks, and for some years there was a decided decrease in members. Conflict of views also disorganised the movement, and an attempt to revive The International in London in 1881 was notable for the struggle between Socialists and Anarchists. The latter urged propagandism as well by deed as by word and writing. The Anarchists were excluded from a Paris conference in the same year, and in Barcelona (1881) a conference, organising a Regional Federation of Workers, created a precedent by excluding even revolutionary political Socialists. By 1889 the forward section asserted itself once more, and at Valencia enunciated a bold programme, of which these were the leading features: Anarchy being the negation of Government, complete liberty must be enjoyed by every member; no Anarchist society which admitted such a

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thing as authority could be recognised ; persons, bodies, or associations accepting Anarchy without regard to revolutionary methods or doctrines were received in national membership ; individuals as well as groups were to be left free in their policy and advocacy of Anarchism. A central bureau, without executive powers, was formed to act as intermediary between individuals and local organisation. This was the foundation of the modern Anarchist Federation in Spain.

In 1889 the Anarchists were represented at an International Conference during the Paris Exhibition, and their delegate, Professor Tarrida del Marmol, proposed a resolution strongly protesting against the old tactics of robbery and violence as a means of propagandism. After two days' discussion the resolution was carried. It constituted a precedent in Anarchist conferences of an international character. In 1893 a Congress in Chicago closed with an expression of sympathy with Spanish Anarchists and approved the act of Pallas, who, after the attempted murder of Alfonso XII., threw a bomb at General Martinez Campos. In revenge for his execution a bomb was thrown in the Lyceum Theatre, Barcelona, and another was flung into a Corpus Christi procession. These criminal tactics inspired the bomb-throwing by police and clericals, resorted to in recent years as an excuse for crushing Anarchist propagandists.

The assassination of Canovas at Santa Agueda, by Angiolillo, in 1898, is another story. In 1896 a bomb hurled into the tail of a religious procession in Barcelona killed several persons and injured many more. Although



PROFESSOR TARRIDA DEL MARMOL, B.Sc., C.E.
A Spanish Scientist and Revolutionary Thinker



it was not traced to any Anarchist, hundreds of Anarchists and Republicans were arrested. Some were submitted to horrible torture in Montjuich, by order of the military authorities. Finger and toe nails were extracted, men were beaten, and nameless indignities perpetrated in order to extort confession. Five men were executed who avowed their innocence with their dying breath. Professor Marmol was himself arrested, and a false witness declared that the professor had written to him instigating bomb outrages. In spite of contradiction, and the evidence of an honest police official that the accuser could not write his own name, Marmol was allowed twenty-four hours in which to confess or be taken to the torture dungeon of the jail. Happily a warder of the prison, a young lieutenant, who had studied mathematics under Señor Marmol, was induced to feign sickness and went into the city, when telegrams were sent to the prisoner's half-brother, a wealthy Cuban merchant then in Spain, and to his cousin, the Marquis of Mont Roig, a Conservative Senator, advising them of the peril. A telegram was despatched to an influential general, a friend of the family, and he refused to leave the Minister of War's office until General Azcarraga had personally forwarded a message to General Fonseré, Governor of Montjuich, ordering Marmol's immediate liberation and banishment. In Paris the professor wrote his grave indictment ("Les Inquisiteurs d'Espagne"), and, through the Paris *Intransigeant* and the London *Daily Chronicle*, challenged the Spanish Government to deny his statements before an international committee. The Government shirked

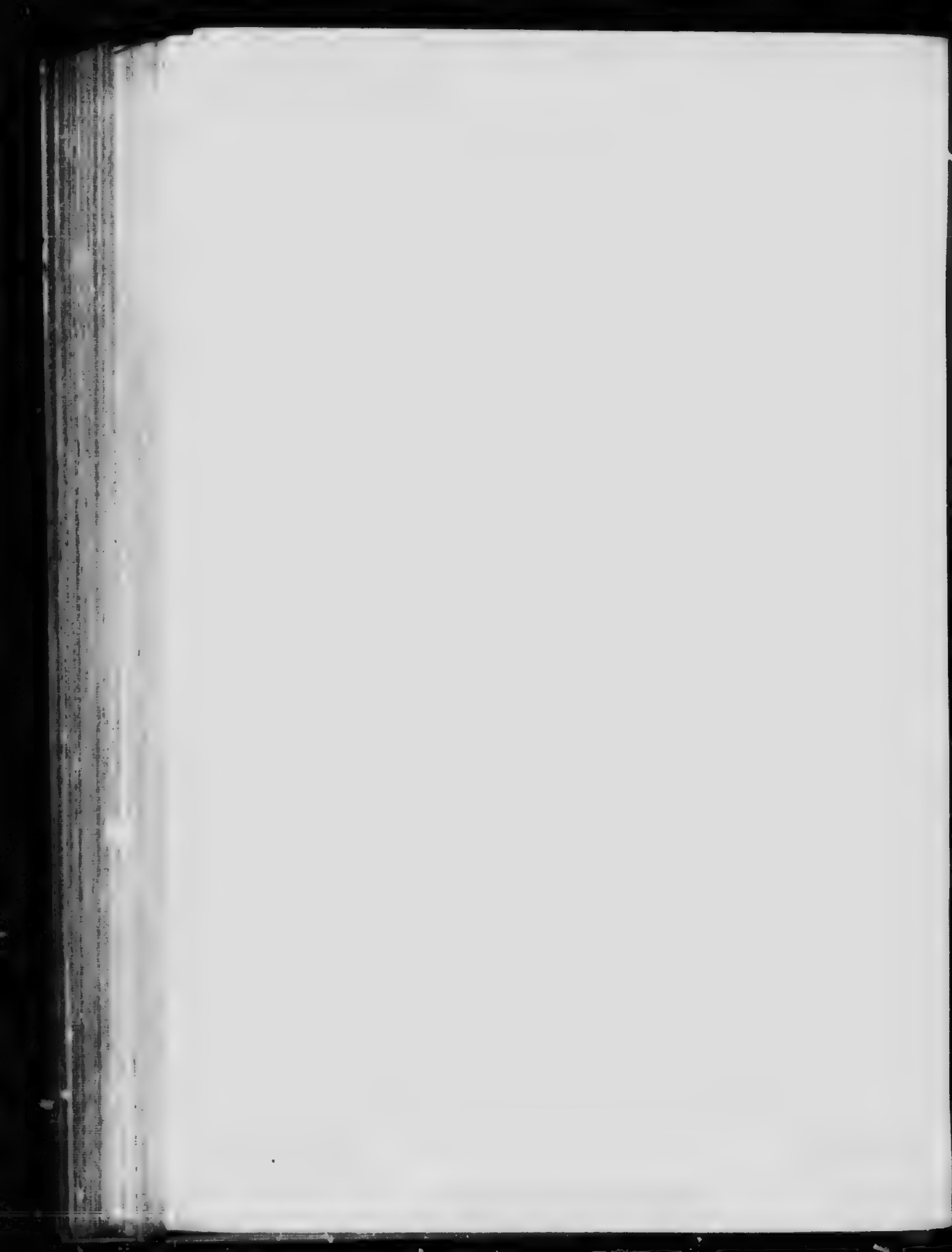
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the investigation. In the eulogy which Azcarraga pronounced upon the life and work of the chief Conservative Minister of the Restoration, the general declared that Canovas was entirely ignorant of the Montjuich horrors! The exact contrary was the truth, and his assassination was an act of premeditated revenge by an Italian Anarchist who gave up his life to murder the statesman who, by his criminal apathy, sanctioned the perpetration of crimes unparalleled save perhaps in black Russia. This fact has not hitherto been recorded, and its authenticity cannot be impeached. Professor Marmol, now resident in London, is a prominent correspondent of Spanish, Belgian, and French journals, a contributor to English, French, Spanish, Belgian, and Latin-American scientific reviews, and author of *Problemas Transcendentales*, a mathematical treatise.

The traveller who, towards nightfall, walks along the Paseo de Colon, at Barcelona, under the grateful shade of its palms, and gazes at the statue of the immortal Columbus silhouetted against the darkening sky, might well imagine that he beheld a prophet of old who, with outstretched arms, was calling down vengeance upon the accursed fortress crowning the steep cliffs. Let him walk up the two miles of winding road upon a sunny day. The perfect azure sky mingles with the blue sea, flecked with little sailing ships scudding before the breeze. Enchanting is the view of Barcelona—beautiful in situation, and only needing an enlightened mind to make it one of the healthiest and most charming cities in Europe. The busy harbour is below him, and



STATUE OF COLUMBUS, BARCELONA



the green hill of Tibidabo opposite. Beyond are the graceful curves of the Mediterranean littoral, and, farther inland, the crag-crowned heights of Montserrat, with a glimpse of the snow-capped Pyrenees—the guardians of the portals into France. It is a scene for a painter; but beside him rises Montjuich, a grim fortress which has witnessed the darkest deeds of which degenerate man is capable.

Notwithstanding the world-protest against the atrocities done within its walls, the authorities repeated the outrages a few years later (1908) in Andalusia. The motive was a violent strike in Alcala del Valle. Confessions were wrung by torture from the leaders of the trade unionist movement, several men were executed, and many were sent to prison. When public agitation compelled the Government to grant an amnesty to the prisoners in April, 1909, some had already perished in a felons' jail at Valencia, but the funeral of one who died shortly before the amnesty was attended by thousands of sympathisers.

Anarchism was active in 1902, but a general strike in Barcelona collapsed after seven days, partly for want of foreign help, but principally because of the enactment of martial law. The ensuing repression produced the usual decline in activity. One of the most remarkable strikes of recent date was that of 1904, in Bilbao, when workers of all classes combined against the mining companies, many of which paid wages monthly, and compelled the workmen to purchase food and necessities at stores controlled by the employers. So successful were the strikers in holding

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up shipping, and cutting off communications, that the local military commander at last gave the employers twenty-four hours' notice in which to come to terms, lest the starving troops should also turn riotous and hand the whole town over to the infuriated workers, driven to look upon revolution as the only remedy for their grievances.

Spanish Anarchism constitutes a most interesting social study. Although there is a wealth of material, its history has not yet been fully or impartially recorded. Government cannot suppress a movement which is the outward and visible sign of the woe and want and wretchedness of a downtrodden and suffering people. Whether the Anarchists will join hands with the Republicans in a united effort to overthrow the existing régime—the policy of the strategists—is an open question. If Government were wise enough to pass useful social and industrial legislation, and take care that its provisions were honestly carried out, they might conceivably turn the flank of the extremists. But if wisdom be lacking, Nemesis will have the last word.

Socialism in Spain seems to be between the devil and the deep sea. A party which has undertaken propagandism since 1875, and has no political history of value, may search for the cause of failure in its tactics. Unlike the Anarchists, who have occasionally linked hands with and even voted for Republican candidates for Parliament—notably for Lerroux at Barcelona—the Socialists have treated Anarchist and Republican alike as anathema, and have, as yet, little hold upon working men. Their leader, Señor Pablo Iglesias,

though not opposed by an official candidate at Bilbao, was defeated by both Republican and Carlist, and no Socialist, as such, had ever sat in Parliament until the return of Iglesias for Madrid, in 1910, proved the practical wisdom of the Socialist coalition with the Republican Left. In other words, the Socialists, though at the eleventh hour, have seen the folly and futility of isolation, and have learned how true it is that union is strength.

CHAPTER X

LOCAL AND MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT

Lack of Local Self-Government—The Powers vested in Government-nominated Mayors—Inefficiency and Corruption of the County Councils—Municipal Neglect of Sanitation—Death-Rates and Birth-Rates—Health Statistics—Infantile Mortality—Absence of Public Baths and Neglect of Scavenging—Overcrowding—Taxes on Food, etc.—Cost of Living—Monopolies—Farming the Public Services—Municipal Jobbery—Demand for a Reformed Local Government.

“PUBLIC life” and “public spirit” are English phrases which every Spanish newspaper reader understands. To him they signify a system of local self-government, of municipal autonomy, of public ownership of such monopolies as water, gas, electric power, tramways—in which all inhabitants, whether rich or poor, are vitally concerned. He has learned that most Englishmen enter town or county councils, not with the object of amassing private fortunes at the ratepayers’ expense, but because they are largely imbued with a high regard for civic work and a desire to serve their fellows. He knows also that British local self-government is a real thing in which all parties may participate, and he ventures to look forward to the time when he, too, may enjoy similar rights and feel similar interest in civic administration.

Local self-government in any real sense of the term, however, is still in embryo. Perhaps the most flagrant

outrage of municipal life is the nomination of mayors by Government. Theoretically this right belongs to town councils, but actually the Crown nominates in Madrid, Barcelona, and the provincial capitals, in addition to rural councils and places with a population of over 6,000. Mayors have the singular power of revoking resolutions passed by their councils. Such a privilege amply illustrates the backwardness of civic life.

Mayors are invested with autocratic powers. Under the Municipal Law of 1877 they are able to engage or dismiss all the officials and workmen paid by the municipality. From clerk to engineer, from casual or permanent labourer to the best skilled workmen, all owe their position and tenure to the good will of the mayor. Naturally, each party, upon access to power, dismisses its opponents and installs its personal friends and supporters. The higher positions are regularly bought and sold, and all participate in plunder from the rates and expenditure. Many workmen and officials have not the slightest knowledge of their duties before appointment, and "skilled" artisans have been known to learn their trade after they had gained a comfortable post. A Madrid councillor exposed the case of a clerk who had not attended his office for eighteen months. He received his salary regularly, and his absence was accounted for by the all-sufficient fact that he had not acquired the art of putting pen to paper.

Of course the powers vested in mayors have proved unpalatable to the greater municipalities. In 1910 the Madrid Council unanimously agreed that municipal employment should be within the control of the cor-

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poration as a whole, with the exception of the armed police and customs guards, who are governed by Article LXXIV. of the Municipal Law, and by Clause XII. of a Decree of local autonomy, issued during Moret's premiership (November 15th, 1909). Probably the action of the Madrid Council was inspired by a resolution adopted at the first representative Municipal Congress, held in Barcelona from the 16th to the 19th of December, 1909, which declared—

“That a municipality shall be considered as a perfect organism having functions of Government. In other words, public bodies shall be entrusted with power to control their own affairs; they shall enjoy their own resources, and a system of training of local officials, with examinations for qualifications, shall be instituted.”

Provincial or county councils—some of which administer areas as large as Yorkshire—are also sadly behind the times. They are controlled by governors, whose election is a political appointment without adequate salary. Consequently the few public-spirited members incur a heavy personal outlay in return for their disinterested zeal, while political rogues batten upon the public purse. The provincial military governors, often densely ignorant of law, are able to impose arbitrary decisions at caprice, and, if they are so minded, to add to their incomes of £400 a year by fining citizens and appropriating public funds. County councils are entrusted with the administration of the hopelessly inadequate and degraded Poor Law system, which allows the great majority of paupers to exist under woeful conditions, or to promenade streets and high-

ways by the thousand, exhibiting their sores, and pestering passers-by with incredible importunity. Half of the poor-houses are "sweating dens," conducted by Catholic Associations, and subsidised from the rates. County councils also control hospitals and asylums, the nursing staffs of which—as well as of poor-houses—are composed entirely of nuns; and repair highways, administer prisons, secondary and normal schools, pupil teachers' training centres, and local justice. There are various committees for education, health, beneficence, and public granaries, but all are inefficient, and suffer from centralisation and jobbery. Almost every resolution must be sanctioned by Government, and every employee is appointed for political purposes. Hence corruption is rife. Their finances are provided partly by Government and partly by local rates. Cities are often called upon to pay equivalents above their just assessment—and usually fail to pay the required amounts!

If a town or nation have a high death-rate over a prolonged period, this may safely be attributed to poverty, bad housing, and general unhealthy environment, coupled with the prevalence of dirt-and-poverty diseases (such as enteric and typhus fevers), consumption, and infantile mortality. Such a state of things is an unequivocal condemnation of municipal neglect and mismanagement, and betrays the lack of a public health conscience on the part of the community. The reduction of English death-rates by 25 per cent. since 1850 has been due rather to the advance of sanitation, science, preventive medicine applied to public

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health administration, housing reform, etc., than to industrial legislation or general economic improvement.

From 1902 to 1907 the death-rate of Madrid averaged 28 per 1,000, and that of Barcelona 25 per 1,000. During the same period, the infantile mortality of the capital was 205 per 1,000, whilst that of Barcelona was about 160 per 1,000, the latter being mainly the consequence of the more enlightened administration of the Republican City Council. Spanish cities must not be judged by their wide, tree-bordered avenues. Magnificent boulevards afford no indication of the sanitation of the towns they adorn; a deodoriser may mask a stench, and yet be a poor disinfectant. In the slums of Madrid and Barcelona an observer will be disgusted by smells and sights that sicken him. There he will find general death-rates of between 30 and 45 per 1,000, and an appalling infantile mortality of 300 per 1,000 and over.

Although Madrid and Barcelona present the low birth-rates of 26.6 and 25.4 per 1,000, attributable to unchecked prostitution and venereal disease, in addition to "limitation," the general birth-rate of the country is considerably above the English average. It is somewhat difficult to obtain trustworthy statistics, but a birth-rate fully 10 per cent. above English rates may be safely assumed. Illegitimate births are more than twice the average of English figures. In 1870 the death-rate of Spain was 30, and of England 20 per 1,000. Thirty-eight years later the English rate had fallen to 16 per 1,000, or a reduction of 20 per cent.,

but the Spanish rate had only fallen to 29 per 1,000, or a mean reduction of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Spain had remained stationary through neglect to avail herself of the improved methods of sanitation, preventive medicine and progressive science generally.

Consumption, hereditary and acquired—chiefly the result of poverty, insanitation, dissipation, and, to a lesser extent, climatic conditions—plays fearful havoc in Spain. Madrid practically occupies the highest position amongst European capitals. London, in 1907, had 1.74 per 1,000 deaths from this disease, whilst Madrid gave 2.35, and Barcelona 2.40 per 1,000.

Spanish consumption statistics are higher to-day than the English figures of 1870. Catholic Ireland—damp, poor, ignorant, insanitary, and ill-housed—with 2.10 per 1,000, alone approximates to Spanish figures. The mortality from infectious fevers, inclusive of typhoid, which are chiefly caused by insanitation, is 50 per cent. higher in Madrid than in London; while diarrhoea, largely a dirt disease, is at least twice as fatal in Spain as in England. Infantile mortality—that is, the deaths of infants under twelve months of age from all causes—which, in England is rapidly falling towards a mean of 100 per 1,000, scarcely falls below 200 per 1,000 in Spain, and is, as we have seen, even higher in Madrid.

Dr. Ulecia y Cardona, editor of *La Revista de Medicina*, and formerly Medical Officer of Madrid, one of the few doctors in Spain who have been able to establish infants' milk depôts, states that—

“The injurious effects reflected in our vital statistics are contributed to, and caused by, the neglect of our

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authorities, generally more concerned about personal or political questions than about matters pertaining to the good health and well-being of the inhabitants, and this makes Madrid one of the worst of European capitals, although, owing to its situation, it cannot be one of the most salubrious."

The Madrid City Council subsidises Dr. Ulecia's depôt, and I can testify to its educational advantages in the saving of infant life and, most important, the improvement of the physique of the coming generation.

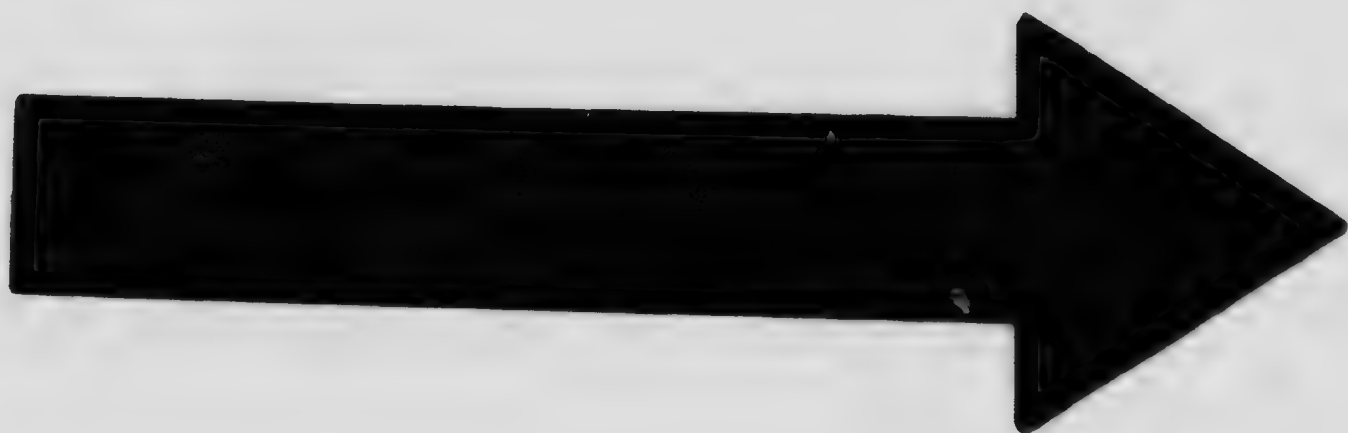
Public baths are almost unheard of in Spain. The following incident is significant: Señorita Maria de Maeztu petitioned the City Council of Bilbao in June, 1909, for permission to place a bath for scholars in her kindergarten school. Several Catholic councillors opposed, and one, an alderman, a lawyer, and ex-student of the Deusto Jesuit college, solemnly declared that he had never had a bath himself, and that the same remark applied to the majority of his colleagues. Permission was granted, nevertheless.

In many small towns there is no removal of public refuse other than that undertaken by private persons, and new cemeteries are often constructed almost in the centre of small towns.

Municipal housing is scarcely thought of in Spain. In January, 1910, the Madrid Council decided to exempt all new houses, or flats, let at rentals below £3 a month, from certain local rates. This was no remedy, since where building sites are already too dear they will not be affected; and where houses are under the sum mentioned, rents are sure to rise. Dear site values severely limit accommodation. The cost of land has

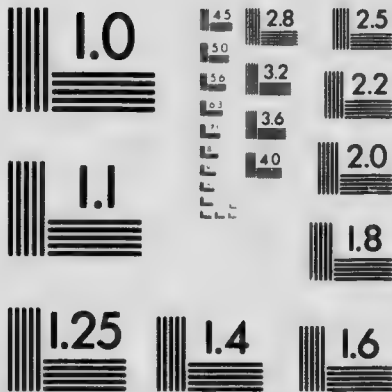
increased 300 per cent. since 1860; private tramway companies will not extend their routes except upon an immediate profit-making basis, and the result is that the building trade is stagnant, and the city concentrated instead of spreading out into healthy suburbs. In fact, some cities, such as Barcelona, actually impose a local tax upon building materials, and thus help to kill the trade which, of all others, should be most encouraged. The private monopoly of tramway services, with the corruption it fosters, and the indifferent supply it affords, constitutes one of the curses of municipal life.

Tourists must not judge Spanish home-life by the beautiful court-yards, or "patios," where a charming brunette may be seen leaning over the balustrade plucking oranges from a tree growing in the centre. Such pretty pictures are exceptional. The traveller will be startled by more prosaic facts and figures. Madrid, with some 580,000 inhabitants, has 14,000 flats, block dwellings, or houses, of which 3,200 are of one floor, 1,600 have two floors, and 9,000 have three and more storeys. There is one flat dwelling for every 43 inhabitants. The health committee has stated that 11,000 flats and houses are practically unfit for habitation. Indeed, overcrowding is frightful in Spanish cities. This is an effect of low wages and high rents, and a cause of heavy death-rates. But for the beneficent effect of purifying sunshine during the greater portion of the year, the mortality would stagger humanity. Rural housing is infinitely worse, and cave dwellings are by no means rare. In Grand Canary there is a well-known cave village called Atalaya.



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Intense interest was taken by the Moderate Press in the land clauses of the British Budget of 1909, and legislators were undoubtedly led to consider the possible taxation of "held-up" building sites. Several municipalities petitioned Government for the taxation of sites and new property leases, and Madrid appointed a committee to draft a scheme to levy a minimum impost of 50 per cent. upon all new leases.

One of the worst features of the municipal government is the system of taxation. The English form of rates assessed upon the rental value of house properties, shops, and factory sites is almost unknown. Instead, local rates are mostly raised from food taxes, part of which goes to the Government. Consequently, the poorest are compelled to pay upon the necessities of life (milk, bread, meat, vegetables, fruit) in the same proportion as the wealthiest. Apart from the cruelty of such taxes, the cost of collection—undertaken by private contractors—is enormous. Indeed, it is extremely doubtful whether, in favourable circumstances, 80 per cent. of any food tax reaches the local Exchequer. In addition, fraud, bribery, and adulteration of food commodities flourish on all hands.

According to Señor J. J. Morato, 2 lb. of meat, bread, potherbs, potatoes, coffee, butter, and a litre ($1\frac{3}{4}$ pint) of petroleum or of olive oil, cost nearly twice as much in Madrid as in London; while 100 kilos (a kilo is 2 lb. 3 oz.) of wheat cost 40 per cent. more in Madrid than in Liverpool. Turning now to the amount of wages, what do we find? Why, that the 55 000 working men in Madrid—the centre of Govern-

ment offices—receive wages varying from 1s. 8d. to 5s. a day, only a few (317) receiving the latter amount, the bulk ranging round a daily pittance of from two to three shillings. Allowing for sickness, wet weather, and holidays, Morato concludes that the average working wage in Madrid is £34 7s. a year, as contrasted with £40 5s. in Brussels, and £57 15s. in Paris. No wonder the prevalence of food taxes keeps the people perpetually poor, and disease is rampant.

There is, of course, some difference between town prices and country prices. Spanish workmen desirous of celebrating some interesting event, or of holding a beanfeast, will often adjourn to a suburban fonda (inn or restaurant), and there participate in chicken, rice, wine, etc., at a cost 50 to 100 per cent. below town charges. Food, especially fruits and vegetables, is 100 per cent. cheaper in rural districts, but wages are correspondingly lower.

One of the worst features of food taxation is the protection it gives to local monopolists. The meat "jungle" of Madrid is a notorious example. Apparently the standing rule is, the more plentiful the supply, the higher the retail price. In 1908, the meat sales at shambles amounted to £934,592, whilst the price to the public was £1,736,770. Allowing for the tax of £366,276 (equivalent to 20 per cent. of the sale price), there was a net profit of a little over 80 per cent. on the sales. Madrid slaughterhouses, like most Spanish shambles, are scandals of uncleanness. Moret declared, in 1904, that the Madrid infectious shambles is the only one of its class—he was wrong: Barcelona is little

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better—and that Madrid eats bad flesh and food. The statesman ought to have asked how it could be otherwise, since food adulteration is encouraged by taxation, unchecked by systematic inspection, and inevitable under monopoly?

Food and drink, however, are not the sole articles that are taxed. Many municipalities make a practice of placing a tax upon their permits to erect new buildings, houses, and factories, and to open business houses and shops. Perambulating street advertisements (sandwich men), and the like are also taxed. Madrid makes nearly £2,000 a year out of an impost upon curtains or shop awnings. Taxes are sometimes placed upon tramway fares and theatre-tickets, whilst public supply companies (gas, tramways, etc.) are allowed to fleece the rates right and left, and pay ridiculous sums in return for the monopoly they enjoy. Gas, water, electric light, tramways—either municipal monopolies in Great Britain, or only conducted privately for an adequate rental in return for exclusive rights—are all “run” under “foreign” contracts. Indeed, it is usual to place street cleansing, drainage and sewage works and street repairs in private hands. The result is that the services are inadequately rendered, and quality and quantity are bad. Spanish streets are shockingly paved. Moreover, it is quite common to use old material when the contract stipulates for new. Bribery works wonders.

What is known in England as the Fair Wages Clause, by which a living wage is guaranteed in all municipal contracts, is scarcely recognised in Spain. Contractors

unblushingly bribe mayors and councillors,* and have no respect for fair wages. Have they not acquired a free hand to sweat their employees as they please? The first attempt to impose an efficient Fair Wages Clause known to me—though there may be earlier instances—was passed by the Barcelona City Council on February 1st, 1910. It provided that no workman should be dismissed without good cause and one week's notice. The contractor was obliged to state the minimum wage, which should be that current as arranged between trade unions and local employers. A list of local rates of wages was to be scheduled by the City Council. Copies of agreements between trade unions and employers were to be inserted in all future contracts under the corporation.

Examples of municipal jobbery might be cited by the hundred, but perhaps the following instance may be sufficiently scandalous to point the moral and adorn the tale. Until the end of 1909, the town council and district of Bilbao had, for twenty years, been under the domination of a Carlist clique of employers and politicians who, not content with granting rate-aid to private Catholic schools, religious services, etc., voted municipal moneys for the religious processions and services during Holy Week, and for Corpus Christi celebrations. They suppressed grants that had been previously given to privately-conducted lending libraries

* Aldermen are reported to be favoured participants in contract bribery. Since they often arrange contracts direct, there is no check upon corruption, and they also take toll of the food taxes. The post of alderman is held to be a distinctly lucrative political appointment.

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in the city. These "bosses" made a rich profit out of the Government food taxes. Compounding the taxes at a valuation of about £32,000, it is estimated that they had collected nearly four times this amount from the inhabitants, the profits going to swell their own pockets. They were at last ousted by the Republican-Socialist coalition which aims at introducing British methods of municipal government, public ownership of municipal monopolies and services, and an equitable system of local taxation to which all should contribute according to income.

Government, if it choose, can now endow municipalities with civic freedom and autonomy. It can no longer be pretended that there is no demand for the reform. The demand is evident and well-substantiated. That a town of 200,000 inhabitants should be compelled to wait for the consent of a Mayor, Governor or Government before it can raise a statue, levy a rate, buy a plot of land, erect a building, increase employees' wages, and so forth, is treating the community as if it were a parcel of school boys.* Healthy local life is the foundation of national integrity and social order. When Government is able to recognise this elementary fact,

* The Canary Islands, four hundred miles from the mainland, are ruled from Madrid and controlled by a Viceroy resident in Santa Cruz, Tenerife. They are placed in a similar position to local bodies on the mainland. Their Parliamentary representation in Madrid is arranged by the Canaries' "Cacique." Were the Islands allowed local autonomy and a Parliament, Grand Canary and Tenerife would be the happiest and most prosperous of Spanish possessions. There is a strong feeling of protest in the Islands, and autonomous tendencies may develop into a Separatist and Revolutionary movement if Madrid dally with a glaring grievance. Denial of local government to the Islands is fatuous.

to abolish centralised authority and the arbitrary interference of provincial and local Governors, and to admit the principle of the State within a State—*imperium in imperio*—subject only to Governmental control and guidance in such matters as the raising of heavy loans and the carrying out of important public works, like the acquisition of water works, etc., it will deal a heavy blow at “bossism,” bribery, corruption, and the foul camarillas that have stifled healthy local life. Reform from above will starve the revolt from below.

CHAPTER XI

THE QUESTION OF BREAD

Effect of Spain's Unequal Rainfall—Land-Tenure Problems to be Solved—Disafforestation—An Emigration Crisis—Wretched Means of Communication—Story of the Repair of a Road—The Steam-Roller almost Unknown—Agriculture in Spain—Olives—Grazing—Tobacco Cultivation—Necessity for State Intervention in Agriculture—Results of Landlordism—Count San Bernardo's Warning.

SPAIN is a land of lofty mountains and broad plains, and its climate, as might be expected of a country with an area of about 190,000 square miles, situated between the 36th and 44th degrees of latitude, and influenced by the meteorological effects of its high lands, is extremely variable. From the sub-tropics of the South—the palms of Alicante and the groves and gardens of Seville—to the snows of the Nevada, is a comparatively short distance; whilst Galicia enjoys a humid, temperate climate little warmer than that of Devonshire. Having regard to its geographical position and physical character, the Peninsula is naturally fitted to produce cereals, vegetables, and fruits of the temperate and semi-tropical zones. There is, however, an unequal rainfall, which, though sufficient, can only be profitably utilised by irrigation, and adequate distribution of her varied products is only possible under a good system of roads and railways. Rivers which in summer are

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ribbons of water sluggishly crawling along their wide, sandy beds, become, in winter, raging torrents, which, overflowing their banks, flood the plains, and cause widespread havoc.

There are serious economic problems ahead, especially in respect of land tenure. Galicia is troubled by a *questio vexata* which, if not remedied, will convert the interior of this North-Western province into a desert region. The origin of its system of land tenure dates from the Middle Ages, when the kings rewarded their grandees, generals, and commanders, churches and monasteries, with extensive grants—sometimes whole counties—of territory. The feudal lords entered into possession of their estates, but were too proud or too lazy to assume the cares of cultivation and administration. On the other hand, they declined to sell or lease them, and had recourse instead to an old Roman custom which was neither sale nor lease, but partook of both. Thus arose what is known as *foros*, a system adapted to the age, history, and special conditions of cultivation in this province of hills and vales. The system is scarcely known in Spain outside Galicia. The “*fora*” contract was made for three generations, a term measured by the reigns of three kings, *plus* twenty-five years. As the custom extended, it appeared that persons who had taken poor or medium land for cultivation, ceded it to others on a perpetual lease, under which *sub-foros* or second *foros* were created. Then these second leaseholders made a further contract with a third person, and he with a fourth, and so on, until there might be no fewer than eight or nine *foreros*, each extracting a certain

amount of dead-rent out of the unfortunate farmer who was the last holder—the Atlas who had to bear the weight of all the intermediaries and idlers who preyed upon his land. Don Eugenio Montero Rios cites the case of the monastery of San Salvador de Lorenzana which, as the original title-holder, receives 3,715 reales (£35 3s. 1½d.) rental for a small estate, whilst the small farmers pay no less than 923,116 reales (£9,231 3s. 4d.) to their immediate superiors.

This iniquity has driven Galicians to South America and Cuba in thousands. Within recent years an agrarian movement has arisen with a view to amend or abolish the infamous system. The Centro Gallego de la Habana (a Cuban Association of Galicians), comprising 27,000 members, has undertaken to contribute every year 1s. 8d. per member for the purpose either of redeeming the *foros*, or enabling the actual tillers of the soil to expropriate the *foreros* and *sub-foreros*, provided Government will consent to extinguish the system. The agrarian movement is not confined to party or creed, but is directed against this horrible system imposed by landowners, the Church, and high politicians of both parties. Officials in charge of land registers often rob *sub-foreros* of their leases, and riots are of common occurrence. If Government will not exterminate the *foros*, green Galicia will surely become a barren province.

Although Spain is suitable for the growth of various kinds of useful timber, the disafforestation of mountain districts has been viewed with perfect indifference. Fierce summer suns parch and disintegrate

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the bare steep slopes, which in winter are washed down by torrential rains or fall in huge landslides, the *débris* being deposited over wide stretches of upper plains. Protection of forest lands and reafforestation, under Government supervision and control, though imperatively required, are scarcely ever mooted, save to turn a period or adorn an electioneering platitude.

Statistics for 1905-1906, issued in 1910, gave an area of 12,304,500 acres, or 19,115 square miles, of State forests. The profit or loss was not recorded, but the total revenue of £326,662 showed an increase of £18,851 over 1904-1905. The value of stolen timber, charcoal, etc., recovered and realised, amounted to £20,420. Albeit State forestry is as yet in its infancy, it is hardly credible that threepence per acre per annum represents the pecuniary yield of any State forest in Europe. Deducting 50 per cent. for difficulties of transport, and allowing for low prices for timber and by-products, the forests ought to produce half the usual revenue of 7s. 6d. per acre estimated by silviculturists for rough, coarse, thin and rocky soils. On the other hand, a reduction of £19,880, in losses by fire, fraud, and storms, as compared with the two previous years, was due to greater care and protection and improved administration.

Spain is face to face with an emigration crisis similar to that of Ireland. It is a problem provoked at once by rural poverty and an ungrateful soil that rewards systematic neglect by scanty crops. Consequently there are thousands of square miles of land in Andalusia, the two Castiles, Estremadura, Murcia, and other provinces, which, instead of being national granaries and

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smiling plains, are little better than scorched and sandy deserts.

Emigration from an agricultural country is clear evidence of poverty and despair. In consequence of the re-establishment of national credit after the loss of the Colonies in 1898, due to the financial measures of the Conservative premier, Villaverde, and the influx of capital—chiefly foreign—the rural depopulation, never arrested, changed its character. Instead of seeking the hospitality of the Americas, the people flocked into their own cities, but since 1905 the raising of land values and rents, and the commercial depression, once more stimulated flight to other shores. During 1909 emigration from Spanish ports reached the alarming figure of 200,000, or, if we allow—which official returns do not—for clandestine emigration from Spanish and French and other ports, perhaps 300,000 persons. The vast majority were conveyed to Brazil, Cuba, and Argentina by French, Italian, and English liners, frequently under shocking conditions. Several instances are recorded where vessels left port with between 1,000 and 1,500 emigrants, half of whom were Spaniards, without having a Spanish-speaking doctor on board. But the poor people are ready to suffer considerable physical discomforts on an overcrowded vessel for fourteen or sixteen days, in the hope of finding the more comfortable existence denied them in their native land. Blasco Ibañez, the novelist, estimates that Spain receives £400,000 a year for immigrants to South American republics. It is, however, small compensation for the loss of citizens and workers who are worth £75 a head to any nation.

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On December 21st, 1907, the Conservative Minister, La Cierva, passed a Law of Emigration, and formed local boards to supervise the sanitation, food, and other conditions governing emigration and emigrant ships. Each board consisted of a local city councillor, an Admiralty official, the local health inspector, a lawyer selected by the Law Society, the President of the Chamber of Commerce, two trade unionists, two shipping agents of interested shipowners, and two nominated by the Board of Emigration. The result was that the persons concerned in shipping contrived to monopolise the boards, and thus systematically prevent the operation of the law. The clerks of the board are usually paid about £1 per week, and some of them are willing to encourage clandestine emigration and violation of the law in order to increase their small salaries. The Board of Emigration has repeatedly censured the committees of several ports for illegal practices, and before his retirement from office, in October, 1909, La Cierva promised to revise the method of selecting them.

Communications, whether by road or rail, would discredit a third-rate country instead of one that once figured amongst the greatest Powers in the world. In 1888 there were 29,000 kilometres (18,125 miles) of roads; to-day there are 43,000 kilometres, or 28,125 miles. In 1888 the annual amount spent upon road maintenance was £880,000; to-day it is £800,000. That is to say, though there is now about 50 per cent. more mileage to maintain than in 1888, there is 10 per cent. less money available for the purpose. Provincial papers and chambers of commerce complain constantly

that trade is either at a standstill or exceedingly difficult to carry on, because goods cannot be conveyed to market, railway, or seaport. Vans and waggons laden with fruit and dairy produce repeatedly stick fast or are overturned.

Ex uno disce omnes, not always a just maxim, is eminently appropriate to the current theme. One of the main arteries leading out of Barcelona is the San Martin road, which passes, by way of Badalona, through a string of coastal manufacturing towns, to the French border. It is one of the national military defence roads. The repairing of this road in 1908-1909 forms an interesting story. Exposed to an extremely heavy traffic, it became studded with holes, two or three feet deep, into which the unconscious wayfarer in wet weather might sink up to his knees and waist. Carts and drays were immersed up to the axletrees. A load of cotton or steel, which one draught horse could easily negotiate on an English road, required four and sometimes six horses to drag it through the pools and sloughs. Often hundreds of carts formed a procession of a mile or more, waiting while the block was cleared. The tramcars carried chains for pulling out carts which had sunk between the lines. Half an hour's wait on a car was a common occurrence. Upon several occasions the Civil Governor and an escort of Civil Guards were requisitioned to appease a small army of infuriated carters, who threatened to transform Catalonian curses into open riots. The repair of the road had been delayed for many months, and when, at the end of 1908, the undertaking was imperative, all the

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manufacturers *en route* were requested to contribute towards the cost, despite the fact that they paid rates for this and other purposes, and had received no benefits. In the repair the Barcelona authorities used a steam-roller for the first time ! The sensation it created was immense. Another case may be mentioned. The contractor who mended the main riverside road between Seville and San Juan de Aznalfarache laid down granite obtained from quarries some distance away. The Mayor and officials had already "earmarked" the rates, and there was no cash for the contractor. But he had his revenge. Entering into another contract for a neighbouring village where he was sure of payment, he pulled up the San Juan granite and relaid it on the new road !

During a recent stay at the Alcazar Palace, Seville, the Queen took a drive down the banks of the Guadalquivir. When the carriage had gone a short distance outside the city, it was turned round and the route reversed, lest her Majesty should stick in the road or be thrown from her seat !

The condition of local roads between small towns and villages is naturally worse than that of the main roads. Of the former there are only 9,875 miles in the whole country. In truth many provinces are so effectively separated from each other that the journey between them must be made on foot or mules, and the scenery and climate, among the loveliest and finest in Europe, are comparatively inaccessible to tourists. Even in the commercial provinces of Catalonia and Valencia there are districts without a cart road. Thus the proverbial

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insularity of Spanish provincialism is readily accounted for; and it needs the full power of a Bohemian disposition to enable travellers to put up with the discomforts of a tour, to say nothing of the primitive hospitality of rural *fondas*.

The annual grant (about £800,000) towards the maintenance of highways and the construction of new roads is hopelessly inadequate. The steam-roller is scarcely known, and the provision of one (and not always one) road-mender to every $1\frac{1}{4}$ mile of highway, together with inferior materials, means that county highways are seldom in decent order. Hence, the typical road is a dust-bath in summer and a mud pond in winter. Before Spain can effectively extend her meagre railway system she must quintuple her road maintenance grants and feed her existing railways with a network of local lines and roads. Such expenditure would constitute a splendid national investment. At present, instead of every facility being given to bring growers and consumers together, they can only communicate with exceptional difficulty. They are treated as if they were enemies and must be kept apart. The absence of bridges over rivers is also noticeable, and during heavy rains communication is often impossible.

We are now in a position to approach the question of agriculture in Spain. Excepting the rich lands on the southern and eastern coasts, in Saragossa, the Biscay provinces, Galicia, and the immediate neighbourhood of watersheds—an extent of possibly 8,000 square miles—there are about 140,000 square miles of almost entirely cultivable lands, either wholly barren or under

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a system of cultivation as rude as that practised in the steppe lands of Russia. Count San Bernardo, in his book "El Problema del Pan" ("the Problem of Bread") estimates that 25,000,000 acres are given over to cereal crops, the total production of which is about one-fourth of the average return per acre given by other European grain-growing countries. He asserts that an increase of over two bushels an acre could be obtained by the use of manures and tools which should be acquired through co-operative banks or societies established for the purpose of promoting improved methods of agriculture. This alone would provide an extra £8,000,000 a year. This is, no doubt, true, but at present Spain does not grow enough wheat for her own wants, and imports foreign wheat, etc., to the value of nearly £2,000,000 every year. Moreover, the crops, being patent to the Excise, are fully taxed. The great landowner usually falsifies his returns, with the connivance of local officials; but the farmer and labourer are often too poor to eat the wheat they produce, whilst bearing a double burden upon their ragged backs. A two-pound loaf of bread usually costs from 4d. to 5d. (inclusive of tax or otherwise). The bulk of the farmers have no reserves, owing either to poverty, or to their aversion to saving money to tide them over bad years. Don Antonio Fernandez de Velasco is sanguine enough to believe that "production credit" banks would advance cheap loans and secure for the farmer from 80 to 90 per cent. of the value of his harvests. He holds, however, that there is little corporate life among agriculturists, and much of what there is is more fictitious than

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real. Of 1,000 registered societies, he declares, over 500 are far more Catholic than agrarian, and more than 30 per cent. are "political," the remainder being either bankrupt or in a languishing condition; while very few fulfil their avowed object of protecting and improving agricultural conditions.

Spain is capable of producing a considerable quantity of raw cotton, and if the Catalonian mill-owners, instead of raising high tariff barriers to protect their obsolete machinery and monopoly, would finance and organise home cotton fields upon approved methods, they would assist internal prosperity, fortify themselves against American "famine raisers," and materially improve their own trade and profits. Spain is pre-eminently the olive garden of Europe, but her average production of a little over 2,600,000 hectolitres of oil, or 2 per hectare (176 pints per $1\frac{1}{4}$ acres), is 25 per cent. below what Italy derives from 25 per cent. less of planted area. Grazing is equally backward, and, owing to ancient methods and the neglected road communications, the price of home-raised meat is equal to and usually higher than average English prices. Tobacco cultivation suffers from the national indifference, and is imported instead of being largely grown at home. In fact the whole agricultural system calls for Government intervention, but although the industrial workers scarcely number 500,000, or about 15 per cent. of the total adult male population, Governments do practically nothing.

In 1900, Señor Gasset, an expert in agricultural engineering problems, when Minister of Public Works under Sagasta, submitted plans and estimates for irriga-

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tion canals, reservoirs, and pumping stations in various districts, but opportune dissensions arose within the Cabinet, and he was conveniently "dropped." Again in office, under Moret, ten years later, he held conferences with various corporations, agricultural and industrial organisations, assisted by his civil engineering staff, and evolved a scheme for irrigation works for 400 districts. However, he left office, at the fall of the Government in February, 1910, with nothing to his credit, and a new Minister now talks of reforms. But the personal initiative and heroic labours even of a Hercules cannot cope with a situation full of peril to the nation and people. Were Government to float a loan of £50,000,000 and elaborate an exhaustive plan of local and provincial road-making along routes of existing railways; to construct irrigation canals, dams, and wells; to establish credit banks for loans and purchases of plant, stock, and manure, etc., so as to checkmate the greedy moneylender and extortionate mortgagee; to create a system of small holdings to be leased to applicants of approved character and capacity; to found agricultural schools and colleges under competent teachers; to feed localities with light railways, and extinguish railway monopoly—were Government resolutely to set about such a comprehensive scheme of reform, then the day of salvation would soon dawn.* But the pity of cruel deferments! Absentee landlordism has crushed the labourer with high rents; parasitic "political bosses" have bled him dry; and insensate

* The proposed 4 per cent. loan of £60,000,000 assigns £29,600,000 to public works, roads, irrigation, etc.

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Governments have relentlessly taxed his products and his frugality until—sunken after dreary years of sullen poverty—he is, in many cases, little wiser than the mule he drives or the ox he goads.

Count San Bernardo, a Conservative landowner and enlightened agriculturist, concerned for the future not only of farming but of his country, pens this weighty warning :

“ If the lesson [of the past] is disdained ; if we go on as heretofore and pretend to confine the aspirations of men and the blessings of progress within a miserable output that makes exchange with the more civilised nations an impossibility, then it is not difficult to predict the final result. The people will not remain in a permanent state of industrial unrest and strikes, as at present. There is the grave threat of agrarian Socialism, that will not be conquered by bayonets nor soothed with sophisms, while it is a delusion to think that it can be extirpated by repression. It is also a vain belief that nations do not perish when they forget that the inexorable law of creation lays the foundation of national greatness in the cultivation of the soil which gives men sustenance, and that the penalty for neglect is decay and destruction. . . .

“ The primary necessity of man is to live in his time. This century will be notable for the work of intelligence. It is the true secret of powerful nations, since real riches is not the gold that vaunteth itself, but the work that creates. It is indispensable to re-establish equilibrium between population and food, between man and his bread, the lack of which has been the origin of all injustice and the source of every great social upheaval. It began with slavery and, passing into modern manifestations, now threatens us with Socialism, dissolution, and anarchy.”

CHAPTER XII

JUSTICE AND POLICE

Judges Dependent on the Minister of Justice—How Judges may be brought to Heel—Local Judges Underpaid—The Citizens Afraid to go to Law—The Jury Laws: A Salutory Reform—The Law's Delays—Contradictory Verdicts—Bribery of Prison Officials—Deplorable Condition of Prisons—Lack of an Efficient Police—Police Register of the Inhabitants—Arrest of Suspects—Police Bombs—The Rull Gang of Police Spies—Why Law and Order are not Respected.

JUSTICE and the administration of the law are twin sisters of Caciquism. As Government exists upon the machinations of a corrupt "bossism" which demands certain privileges in return for services rendered, it is necessary to protect the latter from anything like even-handed justice. Hence legal functionaries are controlled directly by Government. True, magistrates, judges, and public prosecutors are nominated by the Law Court of Madrid, but this body, from the President downwards, is appointed by the Minister of Justice, and may also be dismissed by him; its independence, therefore, is more apparent than real.

Before the law passed by Premier Maura in 1908, anyone who had the necessary "political" backing might be nominated to a local judgeship. Nominally a lawyer was preferred, but the "boss's" nominee generally gained the day. Now the aspirant to the magisterial

bench must pass an examination. Appointments by favour still exist, but the successful person must take care that he can read, and possibly understand, an Act of Parliament, whatever his interpretations of law may be. There is the right of appeal against any appointment, but decisions rest with the Minister of Justice. Legal administration is thus completely centralised and controlled by Government.

As formerly, a self-respecting magistrate who gave the "wrong" decision may be removed, or be taken suddenly ill, and his substitute will deliver the required judgment. But this is no longer so easy to manage, and recourse is accordingly had to the system of transfer. An upright judge is advised that he is appointed to a vacancy at some place probably several hundred miles distant, and possibly involving considerable expenses for removal. Should he continue to curb the flagrant illegalities of the local party leaders, the migration will be repeated as often as may be necessary, either to drive him out of his profession, or to bring him to a sense of the eternal fitness of things. Promotion does not come by merit; it is the exception to find an honest magistrate advanced to a superior court. Another great evil is the hopelessly inadequate salaries paid to the local magistracy. A responsible dignitary of the bench cannot be expected to keep up appearances on a salary of some £150 per annum, even if it be paid when due. Consequently, unless he have private means, the temptation to increase his income somehow is ever present. Hence he may deem himself free to accept a slight *propina* from an anxious litigant.

Judges of Instruction (or First Instance), in Sessions and Assize Courts, must be qualified lawyers. It was until recently common to remove or transfer them for refusing to obey orders, but the law of tribunals is better observed now, and this branch of the service is much improved. Rural and even town law courts are miserable places. Often Justice is housed in tumble-down buildings equipped with furniture scarcely worthy of a labourer's cottage. Unless the town council, of its own accord, supplement the Government allowance of £8 or £10, or the judge furnish his court at his own expense, the local Palace of Justice often resembles a barn. Formerly, no grant was made for a magistrates' clerk, but Maura's law contemplated paid clerical help, and also provided municipal judges with two assistants, who, when qualified, are sometimes of undoubted assistance in procuring just decisions. Their salaries also are inadequate.

Such is the actual condition of justice that the ordinary citizen dreads to enter into an action at law. The fear that the decision will go against him—especially if he is endeavouring to protect his rights against a political personality—or that an adverse arrangement may be come to between judge and lawyers, or that he will henceforward be a marked man, prevails so extensively, especially in rural parts, that the law is a mere sham and delusion. On the other hand, an earnest citizen is afraid conscientiously to use his vote, lest he be made the victim of some illegal charge and be convicted. Every Government knows of the evil, but none has the courage to cope with it. The creation of a fully-qualified magistracy and advocates independent

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of Ministerial domination, with adequate salaries and protection in the administration of the law, would constitute a most excellent and much needed reform.

The jury laws, passed by Sagasta, offer one of the brightest features of modern legal reform. Despite many abuses, the inconveniences and expenses to which jurymen are submitted, together with "packed" juries, and successful attempts to try criminal offences under martial law—the facilities for which were considerably increased by Moret's law of Jurisdictions (November, 1905)—there is no doubt that trial by jury has saved thousands of innocent men from unjust punishment. This reform has had indisputable influence in checking persecution for so-called political offences, but it must be confessed that Moret largely nullified the excellent work of his more celebrated predecessor.

Out of 4,219 trials by jury during 1908, sentences were pronounced in 2,190 instances; whilst in 1,887 cases complete innocence was established. Convincing evidence of the prevalence of systematic injustice was afforded by the fact that High Court appeal cases gave 5,101 reversals of sentences passed by inferior courts, thus proving that where law costs can be faced, and cases removed from local influences, there is a solid chance for the appellant. Still, though improvement has set in, a return of the decisions in all forms of trial—Appeal, Supreme Court, military, and jury—during a given year, would justify the melancholy adage, "*Hecha la ley, hecha la trampa*" — that is to say, in plain English, "Law is a fraud."

Law's delays are nowhere more scandalous than in Spain. Justice is so slow in operation that a prisoner may spend what amounts to a term of penal servitude before he is submitted for trial. The English system of bringing a person before Court within so many days of his arrest, and trying him at Assizes within so many months after committal for trial, is almost undreamt of. In fact, trial three months after arrest is quite an extraordinary event in a serious case. Francisco Ferrer, arrested on June 8rd, 1906, for supposed complicity in the "wedding outrage" upon King Alfonso's marriage day, May 31st, 1906, was in prison for twelve months before trial, when he was acquitted without a stain on his character.

One recent "political" case may be taken as typical of hundreds. During the General Election campaign in Barcelona, early in 1907, Señor Cambo and Señor Salmeron, two of the Catalanist-Catholic Alliance candidates, were driving round the city, when a shot was fired near a Radical-Republican club, and Señor Cambo was slightly wounded in the shoulder. Several officials of the club were arrested, and the sensation helped to win the election for the "victims." Inconceivable though it may seem, the accused men were only brought forward for public trial in April, 1909, after suffering penal servitude for two years and three months. The evidence adduced was of the most trivial character, and the jury had no hesitation in returning a verdict of "not guilty." The accused were instantly liberated, but, of course, did not receive any indemnity for wrongful imprisonment. Many cases are recorded

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where Protestants, Anarchists, and trade unionists have suffered similar cruelty.

Of an example of like miscarriage of justice in ordinary life, the following incident, reported in the Madrid *El Liberal* of February 2nd, 1910, will suffice. A young servant girl was about to carry two little children downstairs when she was accosted by a neighbour, who took one of the babies out of her arms and fondled it in motherly fashion. The girl put the other child on the floor, and, while her attention was fixed upon the infant in the woman's arms, the other child got between the balustrade, and, falling to the floor below, was instantly killed. The servant was arrested, bail was refused, and she was tried (February 1st, 1910) and acquitted by a jury, after passing exactly twelve months in prison without trial. There was not the slightest suspicion of murder or manslaughter, and the girl ought never to have been arrested.

On the 12th of April, 1910, the Madrid High Court awarded indemnities, varying from £200 to £60, to the families of persons killed and injured in a railway collision at Cercedilla in 1908! The guard and conductor were sentenced to four and two months' imprisonment.

Take an instance which has a somewhat humorous aspect. A county councillor of Guadalajara brought a libel action against the writer of a pamphlet who accused him of malversation of trust funds. The case was dismissed. Thereupon, the councillor was prosecuted for fraud, and on July 7th, 1910, the Provisional High Court pronounced a verdict of "not guilty."

Thus the same man was alike guilty and innocent, and in any case escaped punishment !

Not uncommonly an accused person is treated as if he were guilty, not even being allowed to communicate with his friends or his lawyer till a week or two before his trial. The warders and other officials eke out their wages by accepting bribes, and an accused or even convicted person of means can always obtain favours and creature comforts unknown in British prison life. On the other hand, a person of no importance, or a political offender, may be subjected to physical outrages which remind one of the days of the Inquisition. The higher officials increase their low salaries by shameful fraud and percentages off food allowances. Here is a note of abuse perpetrated recently in a jail only three hours' journey from Madrid. Bricklayers and masons were induced to sign that they had worked many days more than the weather permitted. Convicts were forced to forge documents for work not done and material not required. Old materials were used for buildings instead of new, whilst builders' quantities were diminished in direct breach of specifications. The prison stores supplied food and articles at double profits, and many employees on the staff existed only in name. As long as Government pays starvation wages to warders, and pampers the highly placed, these dodges will be rampant. In the matter of doctors, prisons are seriously under-staffed, though certain prisons are notoriously overmanned. Indeed Martinez del Campo, when Minister of Justice (1910), admitted that there was an "excess of zeal on the part of many persons to become

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State officials," and that a public office was becoming the chief obsession of Spaniards.

Many prisons are filthy and the sanitary arrangements disgusting. Solitary confinement is common, while murderers and petty offenders are indiscriminately herded together. The authorities have scarcely begun to realise that reform of the criminal must be part of penal administration. On the completion of his sentence, a convict is discharged from jail without any provision for his future. He may go where he can or will. Government has no further cognisance of him. The districts surrounding most prisons are largely peopled by a criminal class. There are two extremes in prison rule—punishment which is merely confinement, coupled with home and creature comforts; and cruelty and tyranny almost identical with conditions in Moroccan dungeons.

According to an official return issued early in 1910, there are 476 prisons and 13 convict establishments. There are altogether only 475 doctors, 343 chaplains, and 57 schoolmasters. There is no infirmary ward in 312 prisons, and only 13 possess a library, and of 9,086 volumes in all, no fewer than 6,601 are in Madrid. Eight of the 12 penitentiaries have no library. To some extent convicts are made to do useful labour during incarceration. They may earn a trifle every day, half of which goes to the authorities. Of the balance, half is given to the prisoner and half is entered in a savings bank account in his name. A convict in St. Miguel de los Reyes prison, Valencia, employed in the chair factory, may, at the end of a thirty years' life-

sentence, have between 16s. and £1 12s. to his credit ! One prison factory employs 459 convicts, and the wage list is 17s. 7d. a day !

Another gross defect is the lack of efficient police service. Perhaps no country in Europe, save Russia, has a higher average of police per population than Spain, yet it is doubtful whether any presents a greater percentage of criminals. This is accounted for partly by incapacity, partly by bribery, and partly by the protection of criminals by the police themselves. The wages of the national Civil Guard have been increased, but the men, being still underpaid, resort to bribery ; appointment is largely a political favour, although examinations are now compulsory. A late chief of police in the city of Barcelona could neither read nor write. Statistics given in Parliament (April 19th, 1909), showed that Barcelona, with a population of 580,000, had no fewer than 7,224 police, from the mounted and fully armed Civil Guard to the humble *sereno* (watchman) who calls out the hour of the night, and is requisitioned by a clap of the hands when some "rake" wants the key of his dwelling, after the concierge of his flat has retired to rest. Yet, in Barcelona, daylight robberies are frequent, and the city's "Apaches" are more formidable than the celebrated bands of ruffians in Paris.

Candidates for the Civil Guard and local police in large cities are supposed to pass an examination ; the fact remains that some of the rankest scoundrels have become police officers and inspectors. Madrid and Barcelona are the only cities which have an organised

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detective force, but of that the less said the better. Police officers endeavour to keep a register of the inhabitants, their age, profession, politics, religion, and private character, and Radicals, Republicans, Socialists, and Anarchists receive more surveillance than do thieves and prostitutes. These records are corrected every fourteen days by an officer who does nothing else. He is known as the *Agente de Vigilancia*, and can enter any house at will. The Civil Guards and *Guardias de Seguridad* are armed police who are empowered to use revolvers upon the slightest provocation. When a political crime happens, or a street disturbance takes place, it is quite customary to refer to the "character list" and make wholesale arrests "on speculation." During State ceremonies dozens of persons are arrested and confined to jail until next day.* The detective instinct has yet to penetrate the police organisation and, regrettable though the fact may be, the force is ordered and arranged at least as much for political ends as for the protection of life or the security of property. The number of secular and clerical crimes which go unpunished is beyond belief. The cost of maintaining the police is great, and their utility is extremely small. At the same time, it

* The Madrid *Heraldo* of March 3rd, 1910, devoted its leading article ("Respect for the Law") to a scathing exposure of the system. In Seville, seventeen men had been arrested before the King's February visit to the Alcazar Palace. Known as "quincenarios"—or "under fourteen days' arrest"—the prisoners were met at the prison gates by the police, and detained for a further period of fourteen days, the reason being that the King was still in the city. Of course, the men had not committed any crime. They were merely political or Anarchist suspects.

is idle to expect that the armed policeman who has no more than a labourer's pay, or the watchman who receives his wage once a month from the residents in his round (residents usually pay from 5d. to 1s. 8d. a month, besides "Christmas boxes"), can be sensitive or scrupulous. In consequence of the system of selection and promotion, and the method of payment, the police are really as much a menace as a protection to the citizen. In every chief constable's office there is a secret-service fund from which spies are paid. These fellows are often some of the vilest criminals, ready to give any evidence when a case is being "got up" against a suspect. The *agents provocateurs* are really a constitutional part of the service. The police are responsible for many of the crimes they are supposed to prevent.

During the early days of the Anarchist movement, a wild section openly advocated "propagandism by deed," using as their methods robbery, bombs, revolvers, and daggers. Although they formed only a small minority of those who preached the general strike and revolution as the means of overthrowing society, a few isolated bombs in Barcelona and Madrid, and such a revenge-crime as the murder of Canovas—who had refused to put an end to the Montjuich tortures of 1897—sufficed to create an organised system of sham bomb-outrages, especially in Barcelona, and, quite recently, in Saragossa, attributed to Anarchists, but actually accomplished by the police or the clericals. Real bombs, placed where they might injure or kill only the ordinary passer-by or working people, or bombs, false and otherwise, found in public urinals, market-places,

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etc., led to the arrest of hundreds of innocent persons. This infamous artifice—which, however, has caused death or injury to twenty persons in Barcelona alone in the last five years—is now universally discredited. Several cases convinced the public as to who were the real authors of these diabolical outrages. During September, 1905, a bomb was thrown into a crowd, after a religious procession, with its military and police escort, had passed by. There were several casualties. A number of suspects were arrested. Picoret, one of the accused, was compelled to sign incriminating evidence against his fellow-prisoners under threat of torture. This was proved by Señor Puig de Asprer, counsel for the defence, and the two examining magistrates were obliged to resign their positions. Afterwards Judge Catala withdrew from the case, stating that "he could not close his eyes to the truth." Judge Santandreu afterwards stated a case, and all the facts, with Picoret's public confession, were disclosed. The accused, who were active trade union officials and Anarchists, were dismissed, but Picoret later lost his reason.

During the summer of 1904, Lieutenant Morales, an officer in the Barcelona Civil Guard, was caught on Coll Hill in the act of hiding four bombs in a box packed with sawdust, with the twofold object of securing arrest and his own promotion. He was liberated on bail, retained his office for two years, but at length, in October, 1907, was sentenced to 4½ years' imprisonment. He declared that he had acted under instructions from certain superior officers, whom he did not name. He has not served his sentence. A still more

conclusive case was tried in April, 1908, when Juan Rull, the leader of a gang of criminal police spies, which for over eighteen months had infested the city, was found guilty of five bomb outrages involving loss of life, limb, and property, and was sentenced to death and executed. Another of the spies (Trillas) was sentenced to twenty-four years in chains. The most remarkable feature of the trial was a declaration made by ex-Chief of Police Tressols, who said: "I don't believe that all Rull's gang have been arrested. There are accomplices outside, and the explosions are probably an attempted *alibi*, prepared and executed by his friends. I am fully convinced that Rull placed the bombs, but I must also state clearly that I believe that Rull is only the arm and instrument of a terrorism with which the Anarchists are in no way associated, and that behind Rull there are persons of high station who are not in the prisoners' dock." Ex-police Inspector "Memento" (once a bull-fighter) declared: "I am certain that many police plots and prosecutions of working men were due to the false accusations of the infamous persons who are now on trial."

It has been asserted that the arrest of the Rull gang was only due to the threats of exposure by ex-Detective Arrow, formerly of Scotland Yard, who endeavoured for nearly two years to organise and reform Barcelona's detective service, and although the arrests were probably effected by Señor Tressols, there can be no doubt that the presence of the English officer had some influence. Ex-Detective Arrow gave up his task and returned to England in the autumn

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of 1909. During his stay in Barcelona, he was constantly thwarted by the Police Committee, which consisted of a majority of reactionary Catalanists. This Committee represented both the Provincial and City Councils.

La Vanguardia, a Barcelona daily of Moderate tendencies, published, on January 29th, 1910, a striking interview with Señor Suarez Inclan, the ex-Civil Governor, prefaced by the following editorial observations :—
“ We consider that the declarations made by the Civil Governor are of great gravity. His opinions and affirmations are of such importance, that, if they had not been authenticated by his high authority, they would have been the subject of much discussion and heated comment.” The ex-Governor stated : “ The wave of hatred grows and advances and, in view of the attitude of the Conservatives, it is necessary that all honourable Liberals should unite, because there exist political factions which employ Anarchists of the worst kind. I can assure you that there are Conservatives who have Anarchists in their pay ; that is to say, those who call themselves Anarchists, but who have been expelled from these organisations because of their lack of honour.” The Governor exempted many Conservatives from his indictment, but added : “ I must state the truth, that there are insane and perverse men amongst them, who do not refrain from allying themselves with the worst kind of Anarchists. The explanation of many mysteries, which at present cannot be solved, will be ugly in the future.” In other words, the Governor knew that these abominable

bomb outrages were the work of reactionary clerical politicians, who employed the worst class of criminals in the city. The reader may well wonder why these political scoundrels are not brought to trial. What occult power screens them from justice ?

In the cities, where working men come into contact with civilisation and its veneer, contempt for prejudiced and partisan administration of law is so rooted that they have almost abandoned the hope of improvement by legislative effort. No doubt their sympathy with Anarchist philosophy, a system which, expounded by such intellects as Lorenzo, Prince Kropotkin, and Elisée Reclus, must be respected as an ideal, however impracticable it may be, is not without significance ; but the fact that they are always ready to indulge in revolutionary strikes and disturbances, must to some extent be attributed to the instability of justice, and the flagrant misinterpretation of law, rather than to perfect comprehension of a deep and intricate theory of the organisation of the social structure of the remote future. Justice denied, law and order cannot be respected.

CHAPTER XIII

THE PRESS

Inadequate News Service—The Madrid Press—"The Trust"—The Barcelona Press—The Publishing Trade—Pablo Iglesias and "Law by Circular"—Liberty of the Press Qualified by Confiscation—*El Pais*—Señor Moret's Law of Jurisdictions—The Army above Criticism—A Conservative Editor's Arrest for Denouncing a Press "Gag"—Effect of Terrorism on Journalism.

IN a country the Government of which has been for generations reactionary, retrogressive, and repressive, and the people of which have never enjoyed the blessings of constitutional rule, a really free Press cannot exist. Spanish journalism, therefore, cannot help being what autocrats, on the one hand, and a down-trodden nation, on the other, have made it. That the Press of Spain is not worse than it is speaks volumes for the enterprise and courage with which many editors have discharged their duties in circumstances of difficulty, danger, and discouragement of which the journalists of free and enlightened nations have fortunately no knowledge or experience.

Madrid is the headquarters of the Press, but Barcelona, Valencia, and a few other cities publish newspapers of some influence and importance. With few exceptions, however, Spanish journals carry little or no weight beyond the borders, and probably their total circulation in foreign countries does not exceed 20,000 copies a day.

Save for an inadequate supply organised from Paris, the foreign news service is confined to pickings—"scissors and paste"—from French organs, published two days later, and "telegrams" and "cablegrams" (often by post), from their correspondents in Paris and London. All the papers are published at one halfpenny, and consist of four or six pages, excepting the *Correspondencia de España*, which has eight. The *Heraldo* of Madrid has a circulation of about 120,000 copies, the *Correspondencia*, *Imparcial*, and *Liberal* (Madrid edition) have about half that number each; whilst other important papers (including the Republican *El Pais*) issue between 80,000 and 50,000 copies each daily.

If the Press is weak in numbers and organisation, it is worse in "make up," the absence of good plain print and clear headlines being remarkable, and the inland service of news deplorable. Local news, indeed, is chiefly gathered by voluntary or spare-time reporters, who hope to secure a position on the staff, or to gain a "political" career. Many provincial editors do not receive more than a labourer's wage, and the salaries of several of the editors in the capital are less than those of a first-class reporter in London. Broadly speaking, most journalists regard the Press as a stepping-stone to Government appointments, and their salaries are often raised to subsistence level by rewards from the party leaders whom they please by fulsome flattery.

Madrid newspapers claim several cultured editors and contributors, and the leading articles of the *Heraldo*, *El Pais*, *La Correspondencia*, and *La Mañana* are perhaps in advance of the intelligence of the general reader.

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The chief Conservative journals are *El Mundo*—once Radical, then Conservative, and afterwards Independent—*La Epoca*, *A. B. C.*, and *La Correspondencia*. *El Pais*, already mentioned, and *El Radical*, are trustworthy Republican papers, but *España Nueva* is inferior in tone and quality. The Catholic Press is weak, and has only a limited circulation. *El Universo* is Ultramontane, *El Siglo Futuro* has Carlist-Catholic tendencies, and *El Correo Español* is avowedly Carlist. The Liberal Press is most powerful in Madrid, and its three leading representatives are the *Heraldo*, *Imparcial*, and *Liberal*. They form what is known as "The Trust" (*La Sociedad Editorial de España*), a combination which is held not to have improved the character of Madrid journalism, whilst weakening the position of already underpaid members of the fourth estate. Practically, it is a pooling of the financial resources of the three powerful groups which constitute the Liberal Party. The first group, or Moderates, selected Moret as their chief after the death of Sagasta, with the *Imparcial* as their organ; the second, under Montero Rios and Garcia Prieto, financed *El Liberal*; the third supported Canalejas, and were represented by the *Heraldo*. But when Señor Gasset, who had held Cabinet office, first under a Conservative Administration and afterwards under Moret, was thrown over by Canalejas, the Trust—of which Gasset was the most influential member—determined to give its united support to Moret* and attack Canalejas and his followers. It was a sorry exhibition of party journalism, bent upon shattering a Ministry out of

* A month later (March 20th, 1910) the *Heraldo* modified its policy.

revenge, and so throwing principles to the winds. Such a policy has not strengthened the Trust in public and professional esteem; and so serious and honest a Conservative journal as *La Correspondencia* has deemed it politic to announce every day, in big type, "*Este diario no pertenece al Trust.*" ("This paper does not belong to the Trust.") Excepting this newspaper, however, the Conservative Press is weak, and has little more influence than its Republican rivals. The younger *Mañana*, at first representing Liberal-Socialist opinions, and now Independent Liberal, played an important part in Madrid journalism while under the editorship of Luis Morote.

Barcelona boasts of a clean, straight Conservative paper in *El Diario*, one of the few journals setting an example of political morality in the country. *El Progreso* is a revolutionary Republican journal, financed by the Radical orator and leader, Alejandro Lerroux. *El Diluvio* and *La Publicidad* represent Catalan Separatist Republican tendencies, *Poble Catala* (in Catalan) advocates Federal Republicanism, and *La Tribuna* Liberal views, while *Las Noticias* is an Independent journal, and *El Correo* a Carlist paper.

As a whole, the Press is given to the adulation of leaders, and is very susceptible to corruption and the devitalising effects of Caciquism. Blackmail, too, is common. Commercial, technical, and literary reviews scarcely pass beyond the borders of Spain. The first are vitiated by the national lack of business instinct, the second are chiefly a reproduction of foreign science, and the third devote much space to translations

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from French and English writers. Spain has a greater proportion of good novelists than is usually recognised, but few writers can take up a literary career, as the remuneration is too inadequate. A similar remark applies to the book trade, and the publishing firms of note may be numbered on the fingers of one hand.

Pablo Iglesias, the Socialist leader, wrote an article entitled "The Obstacle," in *La Mañana*, for January 25th, 1910, which illustrated the absurdity of "law by circular." The freedom of the Press is *supposed* to be equal to that enjoyed by British journals so far as public comment and political expression are concerned. It is one of the bright features of Spanish law, and dates from the 1868 Revolution. It has, however, been constantly mutilated and perverted by Government censors desirous of suppressing unwelcome news either by telegraph or post, and by insidious military jurisdictions when it is deemed opportune to crush Liberal or even Conservative opinion. Señor Moret, when Home Secretary (and Premier), repeatedly stooped to suppress news and prosecute editors for criticism of the Melilla war scandals. Iglesias' article was confiscated under the provisions of a circular issued by the Attorney-General Maluquer, who, some years ago, publishing his circular in the official *Gazette*, declared that the Regency of the Queen-Mother was inviolable, and her person sacred, that censure and criticism of the Monarchy, the defence of a change of Government by violent methods, and any contravention of these "canons by circular," were punishable offences. Despite all protests

and public demonstrations, the "circular law" was adopted by Maura's Government.

Criticism of Royalty and the King, even when it is apparent that the Crown is acting contrary to the Constitution of the realm, is almost always punished by confiscation of the particular issue, and generally by imprisonment of the editor or writer. The King cannot be discussed in print; he can only be reported. Yet at the same time the law permits defence and advocacy of social and even open revolution, so long as there is no direct incitement to revolt. Of course, this concession is ever open to the interpretation of a local governor, judge, or mayor, who, when anxious to suppress a journal, generally manages to show a cause for confiscation—or, if he cannot, he will create one, since it is not beyond the bounds of possibility to try the case before a judge or military tribunal who will sentence "to order." This procedure, however, is not so popular (with the authorities) as formerly in large towns where public opinion is strong, and Radical and Republican papers now enjoy a comparatively quiet life. It is, however, practised in small country towns, and even such journals as *El Progreso*, *El Pueblo* (Valencia), and others are occasionally reminded of the existence of a local censor of political morals against whom there is no right of appeal. Arbitrary confiscations occur almost weekly in Madrid, Bilbao, Valencia, and other cities. Editors submit rather than waste their small capital in fruitless litigation. In the case of Anarchist weekly and monthly journals confiscation becomes an editor's second nature. Editors and writers in periodicals of

that colour frequently remain in prison untried for periods of twelve months and over, before receiving a short or lengthy sentence, or perhaps liberation. The truth is that, though autocrats fear the Press when it is in earnest, they cannot realise that the public is the arbiter of opinion, nor discriminate between the casual or transitory and the essential. Many riots have been wholly due to officials who have ignorantly and wantonly persisted in sitting upon the safety-valve of public opinion. The autumn of 1910 was remarkable for a number of petty persecutions by local officials who, unchecked by the Government, have, in several cases, imprisoned editors of obscure Radical prints for reproducing articles which appeared also in Madrid or Barcelona journals that were not confiscated or proceeded against.

El Pais, the most responsible of the Republican papers, published in 1909 a series of historical articles which the authorities were anxious to confiscate, but they could not readily achieve their purpose. The issue in which the first article appeared contained some animadversions on Señor Mendez Alanis, the head of the police, and these were made a pretext for the seizure of the paper. Next day the Editor published an article on "The King of the Slouch Lip" (Charles II.), but again criticised Señor Alanis. The issue was forthwith confiscated. On the third day the editor changed his tactics and inserted two historical articles instead of one, but made no reference whatever to Alanis. As the edition could not be confiscated for the reason hitherto available, counsel and judge were compelled to reveal their real motive, and seize the issue because

of the historical articles. When Señor Nougués raised the question in Parliament, the Minister of Justice admitted that articles reproduced from books on sale at the principal shops might be published in newspapers, provided they were retrospective, since "the responsibility is not retrospective." Nougués thereupon challenged the confiscation of *El Pais*, but the Minister, cornered, feebly explained that the publication of extracts from history treated in a particular manner was a punishable offence in the opinion of the tribunals of Justice. The plot to seize the articles, however, was frustrated, for they were published in book form under the title of "Vulgarizaciones Históricas," the sale of the volume being considerably helped by the unexpected advertisement it had received.

Señor Moret's Law of Jurisdictions, passed in 1905, brought offences, hitherto tried at common law, within the scope of military and naval courts-martial. It arose out of an article in a satirical Separatist journal in Barcelona, and met with furious opposition from Republicans and Democrats during its passage through Parliament. Article VII. states that libel and calumny of military authorities—whatever the method employed, whether by printed matter, caricature, etc., or criticism tending to impair the prestige of the military profession, to relax discipline and depreciate the military organisation in matters affecting the duties of the army—shall be tried by military or naval court-martial. Article XII. provides that when three charges have been preferred under this Act, a periodical or society may be suspended for at least sixty days, while three sentences

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against a journal or society shall, upon appeal (allowed in every case), before the (Second) Supreme Court, involve the entire suppression and dissolution of the offending newspaper or society. The whole law, which admits of the widest interpretation in court, is one of the most reactionary measures passed during modern times. It practically sets up the inviolability of the Army.

Under the military laws, it is not safe publicly to criticise the Army and its organisation ; whilst military operations, contract scandals, etc., are practically immune from comment. Generally speaking, it is only possible to give public information concerning the conduct of a campaign about twelve months after peace is declared. Señor Noel, a journalist who volunteered for active service in the Melilla war (1909), wrote an article in *España Nueva*, in January, 1910, in which he described certain blundering manœuvres in the Barranco del Lobo engagement, and also related several scandals which were the common talk of private circles. He was at once placed under military arrest. The then Prime Minister, Moret, was interviewed, and informed that the Press Association would undertake Noel's defence. Moret promptly retorted : " You had better not. It will be useless, and I advise you not to try. If the law courts do not defend the Army, it will defend itself."

During the early part of the Melilla war, Liberal newspapers keenly criticised the Conservative Government which planned the campaign, granted the necessary credits by Cabinet resolutions, and deliberately refrained

from consulting Parliament. At first, the special service of war news was not prohibited, but censoring was of daily occurrence. The entirely unforeseen calling out of the Reserves provoked a deep and widespread agitation, which constitutional measures would have considerably assuaged; but on July 26th, 1909, the day of the Barcelona general strike, Government suspended civil law, declared martial law throughout the whole of Spain, and instituted official censorship of special and general news services. From that date until the restoration of civil law (November 8th, 1909), the Home Secretary (La Cierva) was the Press agency of Spain, and reporters waited at his office daily for their regular service. The partiality shown towards the Conservative organs, *El Mundo*, *La Epoca*, etc., which were allowed to print exclusive war news and official evidence in the Ferrer case, and the like, which could not be reproduced by other papers, moved the united Press to action. Indignant leading articles were printed by the *Hera*, the *Imparcial*, and other journals, and a deputation of editors interviewed King Alfonso at San Sebastian early in September. They were courteously received, but their efforts were unavailing.

Señor Romeo, editor of the *Correspondencia de España*, an independent Conservative newspaper, wrote a spirited article in condemnation of the Press "gag." Though he echoed the sentiments of quite three-fourths of the entire Press, he was at once placed under military arrest, and was only discharged after four months of persecution and mental strain. That he was set free could not be ascribed to change of Government. His

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influential position as a conscientious and highly esteemed editor was the sole reason he was not exposed to the treatment—imprisonment for several months or years—usually meted out to offending journalists.

This terrorism fully explains, and may even be held to some extent to excuse, the servility of so many journalists. It stifles healthy comment, increases the influence of politicians and "cliques" which publish newspapers and place them at the disposal of the party in power, and occasionally drives some editors, whose long stock of patience has at last been exhausted, to open advocacy of revolution. Although persecution has been somewhat modified during recent years, it is a shameful fact that many writers of repute on the Press have spent some portion of their lives within the four walls of a dirty Spanish prison.

CHAPTER XIV

EDUCATION

Statistical—Miserable Salaries of Teachers—Arrears—How Teachers Add to their Income—Inadequate School Accommodation—Rome and Education—Scandalous Condition of School Buildings—Secular and Rationalist Schools—How they are Persecuted—The Suspension of Professor Luis Gambará—Defective System of Training—The Universities—State of Education in Cuba.

THE statistics of Education in Spain go far to explain the status of the country among the nations of Europe. In 1908 there were 24,861 State elementary and secondary schools (25,840 in 1901) and 5,212 private schools. Illiteracy is widespread, but is slowly declining. In 1865 it was 80 per cent., in 1885 it was 72 per cent., and 68 per cent. in 1900 ; in the latter year, 11,945,971 out of a population of 17,667,256 were illiterate. The average proportion of scholars attending school works out at 1 in 9 of the population, as compared with 2 in 11 in England, and Government grants for education are equivalent to 2s. 1d. per head, as against 12s. 6d. in England. The budget of 1908 set aside 23,884,000 pesetas (value, 10d.) for teachers' salaries, or £40 a school. The budget also recorded two striking items. Whilst the personnel of State elementary schools cost 23,884,000 pesetas, the expense of official armed police, or Civil Guard, amounted to 23,855,489 pesetas.

There is often a considerable difference between official salary on paper and in the teacher's purse.

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The Government fix salaries on the following scale: for low-grade elementary schools from £33 to £42 a year; for higher-class schools from £42 to £80 a year. Masters of grammar and training schools are supposed to receive slightly higher emoluments, though many University professorships are not worth £100 a year. The figures prove that the average remuneration of schoolmasters is below the standard of the ordinary skilled artisan, whose wage is equal to about £1 a week. Indeed, it is universally admitted that the calling of public-school teacher is the most despised and worst paid of all professions. "*Tiene mas hambre que un maestro de escuela*" ("He is hungrier than a school-master") is a household proverb, and the vocation of a public dominie is often little, if at all, better than that of the itinerant "hedge" schoolmaster immortalised in Irish fiction.

The following incident was told to me by a Spanish astronomer and mathematician, who was consulted by a fond and anxious mother about the future of her boy, who, partially unknown to her, had amply demonstrated in the class-room his utter incapacity to follow any profession. She ran over the list of callings, and finally, in despair, asked, "Can't I make a school-master of him?" And the professor was compelled to answer, "Yes!"

The average salary of £40 a school would not appear so absurdly inadequate if the amount represented actual payments, but allowance must be made for sums stolen by administrative officials who live upon public plunder in the cities, as well as in rural areas. Many

instances are on record where public schools are closed and officials continue to pocket the salary. I knew of a lady who, after the Cuban war, came to reside near Las Palmas. She repeatedly appealed to Government for payment of arrears of salary, but in vain. She was only one of many.

In the *Heraldo* of December 8th, 1909, it was stated that the Governor of Valladolid informed Montero Villegas, Under-Secretary of Public Instruction, that when Hermógenes Coca, appointed on the previous September 7th schoolmaster at Aguilareja, asked for his salary a fortnight afterwards, he was told that the council had no funds, and provision could not be made for him until the 1910 local budget was passed. To reassure Coca, it was added that a supplementary estimate would sanction the payment. According to the official explanation, this was arranged, and the town clerk advised Coca to apply for his money at a later date. It turned out that the official was away from home when the schoolmaster's salary was due, and, instead of waiting for *mañana* ("to-morrow"), Coca complained to the Press and informed the Mayor that he should close the school on November 30th. The town clerk further explained that the salary was left for him, but the secretary of the local board of education refused to pay it because of his impatience and insolence. The schoolmaster resigned because he could not afford to dispense free education to the children of Aguilareja.

A Royal Order of December 17th, 1909, advised provincial county councils to comply with the Law of

Public Instruction and include in their accounts the sums wherewith to pay graduated increases of salary due to schoolmasters, and to discharge arrears of wages owing to them. The State defrays the salary of schoolmasters whose duties are to give elementary education in various prisons. There are over 900 prisoners in Burgos jail, and it is estimated that 85 per cent. are illiterate. On the pretext that there was no suitable class-room, one pedagogue did not teach, but nevertheless drew his salary for twenty-four years for duties that were not discharged. *Per contra*, a short time ago a warder was starved to death in a Murcian prison. During the few months he had served in this capacity, he had not received any wages.

Usually the schoolmaster adds to his miserable pittance by writing letters and keeping accounts for illiterate inhabitants and tradesmen. The professional letter-writer can be seen regularly in the streets, markets, and fairs of all towns. In many cases the post of village schoolmaster is filled by a local priest, monk, or nun; the "faith" constitutes the principal item of the curriculum, and a correct return of State schools represented as "going concerns," but actually closed, would probably necessitate a somewhat serious deduction from the total number of 24,861. The Royal Decree issued by the Minister of Public Instruction, and published in the *Gazette* of December 6th, 1909, stated that there was necessity for the construction in Madrid of schools for 15,000 children who, it was estimated, could not find school accommodation. Señor Francos Rodriguez, the Mayor of the capital, stated

(February 25th, 1910) that 30,000, or one-half, of Madrid's children did not attend school. Many Madrid urchins are experts in roguery and adepts in the street game of bull-fighting. If, as is admitted, 16 per cent. of the children in Madrid, and over 10,000, or 10 per cent., in Barcelona are deprived of educational facilities, however poor and insufficient these may be, one can only judge of the state of education in small towns and rural districts. From this condition spring the yokels who tell the English writers of superficial travel-books that "Spain is the strongest country in the world," and indifference is so marked that a municipal grant towards a bull-fight is at times of more public importance than the diversion of money towards the local school maintenance. The Government and Church which, in twin harness, decided upon a compulsory Education Bill in 1857 with obligatory Catholic dogma, Catholic supervision, and Catholic inspection, and contemplated one school for boys and another for girls in every village of 500 inhabitants, and two schools for each sex in every locality of 2,000 inhabitants, with one school extra (for each sex) for every additional 2,000 population, and so recently as 1902 amended the Education Laws by the provision of inspection and regulation of school government and discipline—save the mark!—must not complain if they are held up to public odium for shamefully neglecting the birthright of every child. The Church of Rome stands condemned for the mass of ignorance, immorality, and educational indifference she has created. Spanish education to-day is fully seventy years behind that of England, alike in organisation,

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number of schools, equipment, efficiency, and administration, whilst the few inspectors are under "political" and clerical influences.

If the provision of public schools is lamentably deficient, the buildings themselves are a scandal. The public school is usually little better than a barn, and no comparison can be made with British conditions. Appliances are rude and primitive, and textbooks and primers cry aloud for a bonfire. Playgrounds are "conspicuous by their absence," and children, in large classes, suffer from confinement in the close, ill-ventilated, insanitary rooms. The schoolmaster is usually badly equipped for his task; often semi-illiterate; and only worthy of his post in virtue of some natural gift of imparting what knowledge he may have, his teaching capacity not having been developed by a system of college training. Often he adds tyranny to ignorance, and the child's school-life is a martyrdom. As a result, children are soured and subdued in temperament, and mentally, when not physically, injured for the rest of their lives. The child reads badly, writes worse, and his arithmetic is a joke; he learns to recite a fable, apprehends the history of a dead people and the wonders of the Inquisition; becomes conscious of the names of the provinces and rivers of Spain; and may be initiated into the mysteries and orations of professional politicians and "bosses." The only part of his education that may be called efficient consists in the inculcation of Catholic rites and formulæ, which are carefully instilled by the schoolmaster, who has sworn to protect the "faith" within the school, and who is vigilantly



Photo: C. Delius, Paris

FRANCISCO FERRER

supervised by the parochial priest and diocesan inspector.

Secular or rationalist education in private schools, conducted by individuals and educational or political associations, dates from the early seventies, and is chiefly carried on in Barcelona and other large cities and towns. According to official statistics, in 1908 there were 5,212 privately conducted schools with 6,000 teachers. These comprised 5,014 private Catholic schools, 91 Protestant (rationalist), and 107 lay (or secular) schools. In addition there were 80 voluntary schools—37 in Guipuzcoa, and 29 in Gerona provinces—founded by foreigners, chiefly French.

These figures cannot be accepted, the number of secular and rationalist private schools being wilfully minimised. Before the disturbances of July, 1909, there were some 90 secular and rationalist schools in Barcelona and suburbs alone. There were 60 modern schools, chiefly upon rationalist lines, under the kindergarten system, endowed by Señor Ferrer. Thirteen of these schools were in Barcelona, and the remainder in Catalanian, Valencian, and other provincial centres. The number of private schools controlled by Republican parties cannot be less than 500. There are few towns that cannot boast of one or more Republican day schools, usually of a strictly neutral character, a small proportion rationalistic, giving more or less efficient elementary education, invariably superior to that of State Catholic schools. Adding other private schools, of which 24 were endowed in 1887, in Guipuzcoa province, by a legacy of £32,000 by Pedro de Viteri y Asana, several in

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Madrid, under the "Friends of Progress," also Socialist, Anarchist, and other schools, there are about 1,000 private Protestant, secular, or rationalist schools in Spain. So much for official returns of private schools.

Don Luis Valle de Martinez, founder of the Madrid "Friends of Progress," left £6,500 for the purpose of endowing secular schools and providing excursions and open-air object-lessons. Spain has had not a few educational enthusiasts, who desired primary education, not necessarily anti-religious, but free from Catholic dogma. Probably the best school of its kind, together with the "garden school" of Madrid, is one endowed by Commandant Felipe Nieto, in 1887, known as the Lay School of Guadalajara, and furnished with school garden, orchard, and manual-training shops. Another is the Free Institute of Education, Madrid, founded by Professor Francisco Giner, in which Señor Altamira, the famous Professor of Oviedo University, received his early education.

That the number of private secular schools is not greater may be attributed to the persecution of local officials and connivance, direct or otherwise, of various Governments, which close or harass these institutions for alleged breaches of the law, which, if administered impartially, would shut the doors of nine-tenths of the State schools. "Imprisonment of secular and Republican schoolmasters" is a common news item in Radical journals, and a favourite device is to close the schools for a period long enough to ruin them financially.

The following typical instance shows the persecution meted out, officially, even to Protestant schools.

For a number of years a successful Protestant Evangelical school had existed at Puerto de Santa Maria (St. Mary Port), near Cadiz. A number of children were admitted free and others paid fees, as no grants came from local or national sources. The school was closed in December, 1907, by orders of the Chief Provincial Inspector of Education, because of certain defects in the building. This was the culmination of many petty annoyances, as the school was structurally and hygienically superior to any of its State rivals. Considerable difficulty was experienced in obtaining new premises. Fearing persecution, several property-owners declined to negotiate, and a landlord who had agreed to let his building withdrew the offer in a few days, assigning as his reason that his interests were threatened. At last premises were found, and the prescribed month's notice given to the authorities on July 17th, 1908, together with documents stating the objects of the school. These were duly signed, delivered, and officially sealed, and duplicates were given in return. The new premises (No. 10, Calle Larga) were opened on August 17th, 1908, but on the following morning an official requested the headmaster, Francisco Romero, to attend the town hall. The town clerk then declared that the school had been opened without legal intimation to the Mayor, who ordered it to be closed forthwith. Señor Romero refused to do so without proper notice, and opened school, as usual, next day, when an intimation was received from the Chief Provincial Inspector of Education, ordering it to be closed on the ground that it had not been legally authorised, despite the fact that every requirement had

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been complied with to the letter, and no objections had been received. A few days later a second visit was paid by the Chief Inspector, who complained that the infants' class-room was insufficiently lighted, that another room was damp, and that certain sanitary arrangements were defective. Although deemed both unnecessary and vexatious, alterations were immediately executed, but the school was not allowed to reopen. In November, 1908, appeals were lodged before the Rectorate of Seville and the Minister of Public Instruction, but the school was not reopened until December, 1909.

The meagre charter of liberty to private schools originated in the Royal Orders of 1885 and 1890, which decreed that "to prosecute schoolmasters for not taking scholars to Catholic services was unlawful and contrary to Article XI. of the Constitution, and should in no case be sanctioned by educational authorities, since it is a crime against the rights of private conscience guaranteed by the most fundamental laws of the State." This implies that neutral education is compatible with the Constitution. It is an irony, however, that more toleration is extended to the few secondary schools under State control, in which the student, better able to understand the abstract and material conceptions of faith and religious doctrine, is comparatively free from a form of religious instruction which is rigidly imposed upon the infant mind. Although the Church succeeded in reimposing religious teaching in secondary schools during the Regency of the Queen-Mother, it is certainly not so thorough as in elementary schools. The right of University professors and schoolmasters

freely to proceed in scientific investigation and, therefore, in their teaching, so long as they respected Christian morality, was conceded by a Ministerial decree issued by Alvareda, on March 8rd, 1881. Accordingly, the notorious suspension, in March, 1910, of Luis Gambara, Professor of Anthropology and Criminal Sociology in Barcelona University, by Dr. Bonet, the Rector, was illegal. Gambara was recommended to his chair by Merry del Val, the Papal Secretary of State, through the Italian Consul, in December, 1909, and his treatment is an example of Catholic persecution instigated by Barcelona's Committee of Social Defence. The then Governor of Barcelona, Señor Suarez Inclan, expressed his indignation at the incident, and stated that he had read Gambara's pamphlet—the motive for his suspension—and considered it to be perfectly lawful and religious, though perhaps the Professor might be suspected of Catholic Modernism. The Rector was compelled to reinstate Professor Gambara, more fortunate in this respect than Professor Effendi, who held the chair of Arabic, and was dismissed, not long before, in similar circumstances.

Educational expenditure is a national investment, the profits of which are realised in the character of the people and their material prosperity. Most European Governments have recognised that the profession of teacher demands high qualities from the individual—mental aptitude, ready communication of thoughts, ideas, and acquired knowledge, and close observation of character and temperament—qualifications which, only perfected after a long course of training under experts,

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will enable the teacher to obtain good results from the weakest scholar. Hence, the average teacher is accorded at least a moderate salary, and is encouraged to maintain and enhance his mental endowments after his college days are over, partly, at any rate, with a view to substantial increments of pay. Spain, on the contrary, starves her teachers, places them socially on a lower level than the artisan, and fails to provide them with their initial intellectual equipment. Consequently the material is poor, there being little ambition for a career that is generally despised, and offers no security of present existence and ultimate social comfort. Candidates for the profession are required to spend a preliminary term at the normal training schools, but the instruction and methods are so old-fashioned that scarcely one in ten could pass an English scholarship examination. In addition, Catholic doctrine and dogma play much too important a part in the training, and, as a diocesan priest is always one of the five examiners, along with two schoolmasters, a secondary schoolmaster, and a professor—all of whom are Catholics—it is evident that a good "pass" in religion is the chief object of study, to the neglect of more important subjects. Again, the absence of secondary schools is a great drawback. Only one such school is provided by Government for each of the forty-nine provincial capitals, and high fees, coupled with the absence of bursaries and scholarships, place higher education beyond the reach of all but the wealthy classes.

Eventually the pupil-teacher enters his normal school-life with an equipment little better than that

of an average seventh-standard boy.* The want of apparatus is remarkable in State secondary colleges, and scientific demonstration and practical lessons, so essential to complete knowledge, give way to a dull round of daily memorising. It is, indeed, doubtful whether Spain possesses one really good State secondary school.

Generally speaking, primary education is evenly divided between mixed and single-sex schools, the latter predominating in towns. The system usually in vogue is the "unit," or single-class, where children of all ages are taught by the headmaster with, possibly, one assistant. In this respect it is to be compared with English village schools, but the lack of scientific training of the teachers, the ill-equipped and often insanitary buildings all militate against efficiency. Thus that high ideal of education which aims at the development of character is rarely found, and a general level of intelligence, only attainable by personal and patient assistance rendered to mental weaklings by a highly-trained or gifted teacher who, by sympathy, tact, and discernment, is able to realise the family within the school. So it is that, both in preparation and practice, the Spanish system yields deplorable results; large classes are held in insanitary buildings; and the poor pupil is condemned to rote, rule, and recitation, without participation in the up-to-date methods that have transformed and brightened school-life in other countries.

* Count Romanones, Ex-Minister of Education, proposed to modernise training colleges for teachers, and intended that the principals should study the best foreign methods.

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Archaism with indifference to present-day demands is a feature of University life. Señor Quiñones estimated, in 1898, that only 10 per cent. of the undergraduates completed their courses, and certainly the number now is not 30 per cent. In some professions, notably those of doctor and lawyer, the most important point is regular attendance at classes. The examinations for civil engineers and architects, however, are noteworthy exceptions. The backwardness of Spain, therefore, is largely a reflection of the studied neglect by both Church and State in educational matters; and 50 per cent. of the grossly inadequate £1,750,000 diverted into educational channels is wasted expenditure.

By way of comparison, it is extremely interesting to observe the progress of education in Cuba since she became a constitutional Republic in 1902. In 1895 there were only 900 schools in the island, and these chiefly private, with a maximum daily attendance of 35,000 scholars. In March, 1905, there were 3,500 schools, giving an average daily attendance of 189,813 pupils (152,601 in public, 37,212 in private schools) out of a total school population (between six and fifteen years of age) of 274,048. The national expenditure upon education in 1905 was £800,000, whilst the minimum salary of a Cuban head teacher is £100 a year. Although the quality and capacity of the schoolmasters and mistresses leave much to be desired, the fact that a population of about 1,500,000 expends nearly half the amount spent by retrograde Spain, with twelve times the population, is a convincing proof of the value of independence to the daughter isle.

CHAPTER XV

THE ARMY AND NAVY

Men and Guns—General Aznar's Plan of Reorganisation—Service by Lottery—Plethora of Officers—Insanitary Barracks—The Official Staff—Condition of the Navy—Neglect of the Arsenal—Building a New Fleet.

DURING the Moroccan war, 1909, the scarcity of artillery and modern weapons was the cause of much trouble and needless loss of life to Spanish troops. Spain has only 55 complete field and mountain batteries for her standing Army of 100,000 men of all forces. To bring her Army up approximately to present-day war standards she needs 188 new batteries, and this would still leave a shortage of 500 guns upon a war standard of 300,000 men. Five hundred new Schneider guns are required, and equipment estimated at £1,500,000, for her standing Army. In fact, at least £10,000,000 should be raised to render her Army up-to-date. Guns, rifles and ammunition are of discarded types, and some fortress guns would probably blow up the artillerymen rather than an enemy's vessel.

On February 22nd, 1910, General Aznar, the War Minister, announced an ambitious plan of reorganisation, which may have academic interest for the reader. It contemplated obligatory service of every adult,

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distributed over three months' instruction annually—one month barrack duty, one month of divisional manœuvres and sham fights in spring, and one month of general army manœuvres in autumn. Illiterates would remain on permanent service, and others re-enlist voluntarily under a monetary inducement. Three territorial Divisions were to be added to the 1st, 2nd, and 4th Army Corps, with instruction centres and camps at Carabanchel, Cordova, and Calaf. A new corps would be organised with three Divisions (for Moroccan service) in Ceuta, Melilla, and on the plain of Gibraltar. The 20 Divisions would then have 300,000 men as a first line of defence, with 300,000 Reserves, and the Colonial Army. It was also intended to augment the 13 mounted regiments and construct new barracks. Promotion was to be regulated, the retiring age of officers reduced by two years, discounts of pay would be abolished, and the officer's life would be made less costly and more agreeable.

Fortunately Spain is not likely to require a large standing Army. Three hundred thousand soldiers on a war footing is the recognised ideal, but experts are constantly demanding increased expenditure. One might, with greater reason, ask how the actual grants are disbursed, as there is a considerable leakage in contracts and in other ways reminiscent of Cuban war scandals. Present tendencies, supported by many Republicans and Democrats, are towards conscription instead of the annual *sorteos*, or "drawing of lots," but there is reason to believe that any such scheme might be inspired by the "Palace Generals," to put an effective

bar in the path of social reform by fomenting a feeling amongst a population, in the main ignorant of Spain's position in the Council of Powers, that the country needs an army organised on the proportions of her French neighbour—an assumption wholly unwarranted by facts. Territorial armies, with a voluntary standing force of 75,000 men, well equipped for war and with a standard of pay that would attract the Spaniard otherwise desirous of following a military career, would probably offer a sounder alternative than conscription.

The Army suffers from a plethora of officers. In 1898, during the Spanish-American war, there were no fewer than 299 Generals of different grades, and 200 on the retired list, 500 colonels, and 2,800 minor officers, and the number has not materially decreased since. There are also six Captain-Generals or Field-Marsals. In fact the ratio of officers to a standing army of under 100,000 men is said to be higher than in any other European nation.

The soldier is usually condemned to live in unhealthy barracks, constructed from old residences or convents. Few of these buildings are fit for habitation, and there are not a dozen decent modern barracks in the country. Baths, gymnasia, riding-schools, armouries, and recreation rooms are often wanting, and officers' quarters are generally unprovided with club-room or library. As a result, the soldier, though not lacking in bravery, does not reach the standard of physical efficiency common in other European armies.

As a rule the official staff are avowed or nominal Catholics. Whilst some generals, like Polavieja and

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Weyler, have acquired an unenviable reputation for their truculence in warfare, many hold advanced views on political subjects. On several occasions officers have shown sympathy with progressive principles.

Once the glory of Spain, the Navy can now scarcely be said to exist. The American war (1897-98) proved that vessels and personnel had been systematically starved and plundered of both supplies and armament, and hardly a ship was fit for action. Government knew the state of the case, but the nation was almost entirely ignorant that the fleet sailed towards maritime suicide in Cuba and the Philippines. After the conflict the remnants of the fleet were further neglected, and during the Melilla campaign it was found that some of the ancient ships could not sail without imperilling both ships and sailors. Most of the vessels had not been repaired for over twelve months, although the law prescribes that warships must be overhauled every three months. After employing all the "modern" vessels available for Melilla it was necessary to bring out the old *Numancia*, as all other ships had been obliged to put into dock for repairs. It was impossible to send a war vessel to the Canary Isles to accompany the Viceroy-Governor who replaced General Weyler in November, 1909; and, needless to say, the "home fleet" cannot indulge in annual manœuvres or constant patrol service.

Arsenals have been similarly neglected, and are consequently in a dismantled condition. The best workmen have emigrated or found other employment. When money was provided for the repair of the *Reina*



GENERAL WEYLER

Who commanded the Spanish Forces in Cuba, and afterwards became
a Liberal Cabinet Minister

Regente Government was forced to advertise for workmen in Bilbao, Barcelona, and Seville, but only thirty-seven men came forward. When the new fleet which is being built at Ferrol by Messrs. Vickers, Jones and Maxim is completed the principal difficulty—apart from financial resources—will be to find qualified officers to man the vessels. At present it is doubtful whether Spain could thoroughly equip one war vessel with competent marines and proper armaments. Systematic neglect and fraud have done their work only too well.

CHAPTER XVI

POST OFFICE AND RAILWAYS

Defects of the Postal System—Violation of Privacy—Delays—Statistics—Abortive Attempts at Reform—Postal Service in Madrid—Primitive Railways—Dilatory and Unpunctual Trains—An Undeveloped Railway System—High Tariffs—The Rolling Stock and Permanent Way—Smuggling by Railway Companies.

To understand why Spain's trade and commerce are so inconsiderable, it is only necessary to describe the woeful condition of her postal and telegraph services and railway system. The post-office system is one of the worst in Europe. The privacy of a letter is never certain ; it may be opened and stolen by the authorities, who do not hesitate to confiscate periodicals and communications otherwise within the law and proper, but not acceptable to a bigoted Catholic or the local " boss," while the police have always ready access to the mail. Letters are frequently delayed in transmission or delivery—in the latter case being held up for five or six hours after the arrival of the train—and the ordinary householder who omits to pay his postman one halfpenny for occasional letters may safely anticipate the loss of some of his correspondence. It is the postman's way of earning a living wage, and business houses without their private letter-box and persons with large and regular batches of correspondence must make a periodical composition with

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the postman. No "tips" are required for telegrams, but their dispatch need not be expedited unless the sender chooses to resort to the method called "Urgente," which means that by charges of 500 per cent. above usual rates such a telegram will be given precedence over all others in the office. Foreigners often arrange for their letters to be addressed to the Consul.

It is said that there are only 3,000 persons in the telegraphic service. British postal or money orders are not negotiable, and they are not issued, nor is there any parcel post. Though conditions are slowly mending, the whole postal organisation is still in a primitive state. The profits from the Post Office in 1908 amounted to £620,000, and in 1909 to £660,000. At least part of the latter revenue ought to have been ear-marked for improvements. For several years not one telegraph line had been renewed, but in the Budget for 1909 the sum of £8 was provided for eventualities of contracts! During the greater part of these two years the Conservative Maura was in power, but though he promised much and actually passed a measure for increasing the staff, services, and telegraphic facilities, the Budget, as so often before, was dumb. High hopes were entertained of Francos Rodriguez, the Liberal Postmaster-General in Moret's short-lived Administration. He was one of the most cultured writers on the Press, his yearly work on the drama taking standard rank, but the fall of the Cabinet in February, 1910, cut short his opportunities for effecting reform. Despite the opposition of bankers, he contemplated the introduction of postal and money

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orders, and tried to instil some regard for discipline into the staff. In December, 1909, when floods and storms completely disorganised the telegraphic service, post-office officials accepted Press and private telegrams, knowing that communications were cut off, and sent them by post, pocketing the difference in the price. Thereupon Rodriguez dismissed an inspector of the telegraphic department for dereliction of duty, but, in view of the general "clearing-out days" customary on every change of Ministry, few of the public regarded his action in its true light, and the discharged inspector was looked upon as a Conservative sacrifice on the altar of Liberal zeal.

At present there are five deliveries a day in Madrid, which contains the Government offices. The average daily delivery in the city amounts to 80,000 letters, post cards, and newspaper packets from the provinces, 15,000 from abroad, 10,000 from Madrid province, and 25,000 local letters—or 80,000 in all. For purposes of comparison I have the statistics of the normal daily delivery (that is, exclusive of Christmas, New Year, and other special days) in an English industrial centre of 470,000 inhabitants, or 110,000 fewer than Madrid. The figures show an actual daily average delivery of 120,000 letters, post cards and newspackets, which, based upon ratios of population, is 75 per cent. greater than that of the capital of Spain.

Enough of the Post Office—let us turn now to the railways. The traveller who crosses France in one of the first-class *rapides*, and enters Spanish territory at Port Bou or Irun, might readily imagine that he

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was suddenly transported into a primitive land where the railway was yet in its initial stage. Exchanging a comfortable second-class compartment for a seat in what, at some remote period, was a *train de luxe*, whose pristine splendour has now yielded to dinginess and dirt, he travels, on a single line of narrow gauge, by mail express to Barcelona or Madrid at the furious speed of 30 miles an hour!

If, by an ordinary train, he arrives at his destination two hours late, he may consider himself a fortunate and honoured being. Should he take a third-class ticket on a *tren mixto*, his rate of travel will not exceed 20 miles per hour; but, by way of recompense, he will be able to admire to his heart's content the sublime coast and hill scenery of the southern spurs of the Pyrenees, or survey with sorrow the scorched plains of the Northern Midlands. Further, he may be invited to share food with a sunburnt fellow-passenger, and become acquainted with that delightful form of *hidalguismo* and hospitality which is one of the most charming characteristics of the Spanish race. The wayside stations he will scarcely recognise, so primitive is their construction. There will be many a pause and *largo*, and he will jolt along until every bone in his body feels sore. Some time he will "get there," but he will be well advised not to make any appointment until several hours after the train is due.

Should he be stranded overnight in some country place, he may content himself with the simple accommodation of the village *fonda*, and wait until the guard and conductor give him a call. Should he journey by

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a branch line, his experiences will furnish conclusive evidence of the beauty of the Spanish *mañana* (to-morrow). The station-master will have no idea when the train is expected, and will courteously invite him to take a cigarrillo or a glass of wine until information is obtained. Perhaps the train will arrive *to-morrow*. Occasionally the passenger has to walk a few hundred yards to avoid a broken bridge. Let him take heart of grace, however, for he will arrive some time. The Englishman learns the virtue and value of patience upon a Spanish railway.

At present there is no direct communication between Madrid and Valencia—the second port of Spain. Some provinces, notably Cuenca and the provinces of Estremadura, are scarcely touched by a railway, and it is only recently that the towns of the Mediterranean littoral have been connected, not always directly, by rail. Even the industrial centres of the provinces of Valencia and Catalonia have very meagre communications with Bilbao and the Basque provinces. Hundreds of thousands of Spaniards have never heard an engine whistle during the course of their lives. The United Kingdom, inclusive of the sparsely-populated Scottish Highlands and Ireland—with an area of 121,000 square miles, can boast of over 23,000 miles of railways, whilst Spain, 190,000 miles in area, has only about 7,500 miles. Moreover, about nine-tenths of the British lines are double, whilst about 1,000 miles have three or four sets of rails.

Coupled with the abnormal deficiency of roads of even third-class order, one sees how trade and commerce

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are injured or throttled, whilst prices of foodstuffs are inordinately advanced. A third railway between Central France and Madrid, long mooted, is still under discussion, while the complete and direct linking up of railways to connect France with Spain as far south as Carthage, thus providing readier access to Algiers, has not emerged from the stage of contemplation. The principal lines are controlled by French capitalists, who direct operations from Paris, and some of the railways of Northern Spain are controlled by the Marqués de Comillas. On the few bookstalls of the latter one can buy only Catholic publications, all others being forbidden.

Railway tariffs are still worse than the limited accommodation. A ton of rice from the province of Valencia to Bilbao costs about £2 6s. for a journey of 400 miles. Oranges and grapes can be shipped from Burriana and Valencia to England (about 7 days' journey), and then transhipped to Bilbao (3 days') at a cheaper rate, with little loss of time and less damage to the fruit, than if sent directly. Vegetable traffic between Valencia and Madrid, by "goods" express, amounts to £5 a ton; by slow "goods" to about £2 10s. a ton, a journey of 300 miles—nearly double the distance of a direct route. Other rates are in proportion, and, as a consequence, fewer oranges and grapes are consumed in Madrid and other inland cities than in many English towns. In most cases Spaniards are not able to eat their own varied produce except at a higher price than in England. Further, the cost of transport is so high that Argentine and Russian wheat competes with

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Spanish cereals, and Galicia cannot successfully supply the interior with meat. A Spanish "goods" express, running on an average 20 miles an hour, would be considered a marvel, and a slow luggage train will with difficulty maintain an easy bicycle rate of progress per hour. Five or six days is quite a common time to allow between collection and delivery. A waggon of cattle from Paris, or the French midlands, will reach the Spanish borders (at Port Bou) in 36 hours, whilst from Lugo to Madrid, 125 miles less, the transit takes five to six days. Fresh fish is a luxury in Madrid, dried fish being the rule. Over short distances, where fair roads exist, it is preferred to cart general produce. The cost is no higher and delivery is much quicker. If a person wishes to send a parcel at the Company's risk, he will be handed a receipt declining responsibility because the parcel is not properly packed. The consignee, compelled to accept these conditions, breathes a prayer for the safe arrival of his goods at the station of delivery. The Companies will not improve their rolling-stock. Strange to say, they prefer a limited traffic and low profits rather than launch out in capital expenditure. Small wonder that statesmen like Canalejas, Costa, Estevanez, and other Progressives insist on the *necesidad de Europeizar á España* (the necessity of Europeanising Spain).

The nature of the rolling-stock and permanent way may be gathered from an accident near Onda, in the province of Castellon, on February 1st, 1910. The train was filled with army conscripts *en route* for their twelve months' training at Castellon. As the train was

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rounding a sharp curve the soldiers crowded to the right-hand side to wave farewell to their relatives and friends. This movement disturbed the equilibrium and overturned the engine and several carriages. Luckily, the train was proceeding at the customary wheelbarrow speed, and the Gilbertian accident only ended in a few slight contusions.

Companies do a considerable amount of smuggling. They are allowed to import materials for the construction and repair of the permanent way free of duty. A thorough examination of accounts and weights would prove that in some cases the quantity of such materials carried during a single year would amount to nearly 50 per cent. of the total weight of the whole permanent way. The exporter pays his toll, the receiver gives a donation to the Company, and the humble wages of the customs officials are increased by this fraud.

Article XXXV. of the Railway Act of 1855 stipulates "that five years after the inauguration of a railway, and every five years thereafter, the rates and tariffs shall be revised"; while Article XXXIV. empowers Government to acquire any railway at the end of each quinquennial period, the price to be determined upon the average profits during the preceding five years. These Articles effectually dispose of the Companies' contention that the State has no right to revise their charges. In a recent pamphlet Señor Martinez explains why revision is difficult. He states that the Northern Railway Company of Spain defrauded the State of £54,040,000 between 1864 and 1904! He adds that the

facts and figures drawn from their own reports demonstrate that if the Companies "had not committed the incredible frauds given in their accounts and balance-sheets during the period of construction, the State would, thirty-five years ago, have become the owner of the line between Madrid and Irun, and of the branch lines. After paying the shareholders 12 per cent. interest, there would have remained a yearly surplus of £400,000 for the State." Such fraudulent practices are all in direct contravention of the conditions of lease and concession granted by Government. Any Ministry could, by a stroke of the pen, undo every railway company in the country. But manufacturers and tradesmen appeal in vain for redress. A lawyer may act, but he will be quickly "bought over," or ruined. Possibly 50 per cent. of Spanish M.P.'s are directors or hold some fictitious position in the railway service. This constitutes a sure method of silencing opposition, and is one of the perquisites of political leaders and camp followers. When Lopez Puigcerver was Chancellor of the Exchequer, his brother Vincent was Governor of Cadiz. The latter required the railway company to keep to the time-table, and imposed more or less heavy fines for delinquencies. Shortly afterwards, the Minister informed his brother that he must refrain from admonishing the Company or he would forfeit his position. The financial forces at Madrid and in the Government were too powerful to be opposed.

The renovation and extension of railways are a clamant necessity. Want of them vitally handicaps trade, stifles progressive influence, maintains the in-

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sularity and ignorance of the interior, enhances the price of necessities, lessens consumption and production, and increases poverty and ill-health. Compulsory compliance with Statute law, added to a loan of £50,000,000 for new railways, would add 50 per cent. to the national commerce and enlarge the general prosperity by 10 to 20 per cent.

CHAPTER XVII

COMMERCE AND TRADE

"Mañana"—A Land Without Manufactures—Business by Bills—A Badly Organised Banking System—Public Works Mostly Conducted by Foreigners—Usury—Slow Growth of Trade—Duties on Cotton and Woollen Goods and Hardware—How Food is Taxed.

BUSINESS is never hurried in Spain. The foreign commercial traveller, accustomed to hustling methods and raw to his new market, is surprised when a proud, "energetic" Catalonian merchant receives him with supreme courtesy, the offer of a cigarette or wine, and a chat upon any mortal subject save that dearest to the visitor's heart. When at last business is broached, the dealer will say "Mañana," and the commercial must either wait four or five days for an order, or go elsewhere. The Catalonian business man will deny it, but he is not much better than the Southern Spaniard, to whom Northern bustle is uncongenial, and whose disregard of time and promises have become an almost incurable disease. The average Spaniard is really grieved at foreign criticism of his untrustworthiness. To put off until to-morrow what should be done to-day is not only natural to the country and climate, but is aggravated by a system of government that has suppressed initiative and wounded self-confidence.

Unable to manufacture for herself, because she will not encourage industry and educational facilities,

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Spain is dependent upon other nations for much of her supplies of iron and steel, working-tools, and machinery. This trade is mostly in the hands of large merchants, who distribute to small dealers, hold heavy stocks, and can place good orders with the traveller who is wise enough to wait his customer's convenience.

Trade is conducted by bills matured at ninety days. Invoices are invariably made out in French francs or English sovereigns. Few foreigners trust the fluctuating currency, which has only shown signs of stability, at 27 to 29 pesetas per pound sterling, since 1906. Consequently, Spanish merchants must buy foreign money, which, before 1906, represented a loss of between 20 and 60 per cent. upon the exchange. At present the value of Spanish gold is about 8 per cent. below the normal. It is common for a Spaniard to fail to meet a bill drawn upon him without previously advising the drawer. For this he may have a good reason, but it seldom occurs to him to mention it until the creditor writes to ascertain why the liability was not met.

Credit is accompanied by many risks. Some large firms may be given twelve months' bills, but great care must be exercised with the ordinary buyer, and the reports of several of the inquiry agencies are by no means trustworthy. The banking system is badly organised. Banks collect and discount bills, but no interest is paid on business credit accounts. Overdrafts are not allowed, and unless an arrangement is made to discount bills on presentation there must be a balance before cheques are honoured. Banks distrust

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the business man and entirely lack the enterprising spirit which makes English bank shares one of the most profitable of securities. The scarcity of gold currency, largely controlled by Government, and the enormous circulation of paper money often involve dozens of good houses when a firm suspends payment. In most large towns there are good banks, and branches of the Bank of Spain, Crédit Lyonnais, Union Bank, etc., but in small places brokers and others often do their own banking, or a bank agent collects bills. Banks issue cheque-books to local traders. Each cheque is made out for a specified amount, and, when signed by the payee, is really an open cheque, payable practically to anyone who presents it. The presenter receives a brass check at the bank, and twenty or thirty minutes will then elapse while the piece of paper passes through some mysterious process. The whole system, especially in remote districts, entails considerable expense in collecting, and extra care must be taken to guard against the untrustworthiness of banks which may not protect their clients. Should a debtor fail to meet his account, the creditor must pay to the bank part of the cost of collecting, and also the cost of the new bill. An attorney draws up a document giving the reason why the debt is not paid, and this, too, is defrayed by the creditor. To avoid this charge a trustworthy firm crosses its invoices "*sin gastos*" ("without costs"), and then only the bankers' charges will be paid. Should the customer fail, the debt does not rank against the estate, and no action at law can follow. The money is therefore lost. But, in spite of the prevalence of corruption, the

average Spanish trader is more honest than the Italian merchant.

To the lack of enterprise, education, and the instincts of investment is mainly attributable the fact that foreigners—French, Britons, Belgians, and Germans—control most of the great public works, such as electric, gas and water supplies, and tramways. Owing to the Spaniards' apparent incapacity to undertake large contracts, a vast amount of capital goes out of the country. The orange and grape districts on the Mediterranean coast are considerably impoverished by British and German houses, which reap rich profits at the growers' expense. They buy up harvests at low prices and pay ready cash to the growers, who do not organise their foreign trade and markets, nor trouble to keep reserves against the fluctuations of crops. This is true also of the mining industries near Seville, Huelva, and in the Basque provinces. Commercial and technical education, systematically and thoroughly pursued, will alone enable the producer for foreign markets to derive full benefit from his business. About three-fourths of the foreign trade and an appreciable portion of the home production are in strange hands.

Usury is another great evil in a land where small industry still prevails. The comparative absence of sound credit banks, content with moderate interest, is very marked. A regulation passed by La Cierva in 1909 somewhat modified the provisions of a previous law upon usury (1908). It stipulated that interest must not exceed 12 per cent. per annum. But the law is almost everywhere frustrated. The practice is

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to claim 2 per cent. per month on sums under £4, and often 3 per cent. for larger amounts. A loan is issued at 1 per cent. per month, with an extra 5 per cent. as a guarantee. As it is renewable at six months the interest amounts to 22 per cent. per annum. Cases are recorded in Madrid where 72 per cent. is charged. The poor, improvident Spaniard is the prey of the money-lender, and accommodation loans under 10 per cent. are the exception.

Trade grows very slowly in comparison with that of other countries. Since 1890 exports have only increased about 5 per cent., and now average about £38,000,000 per annum, whilst imports are some £41,000,000 per year, and show a similar advance. The bulk of the export trade is in fruits, ores, wines, and cotton goods. Custom duties on cotton and woollen goods are practically prohibitive. Unbleached (single) cotton yarns and threads for weaving, to No. 15, pay a minimum duty of 2½d. per lb., whilst No. 126 and over are subjected to a (highest) tax of 1s. 1d. per lb. The average of seven qualities is 7½d. per lb. Two-strand yarns pay a surtax of 10 per cent., whilst three-strand yarns or more are mulcted in 20 per cent. additional duty. Cotton sewing threads pay 8½d. to 10½d. per lb., according to quality. Four qualities of woollen yarns and threads (average duties) are 1s. 0½d. per lb., and dyed threads suffer a 20 per cent. surtax. Manufactured cotton goods (based upon 51 articles) average 1s. 8d. per lb.; and cotton materials mixed with silk, such as velvets or plush, where the warp and weft are cotton, pay 5s. 5½d. per lb. Woollen stuffs for

twenty-five qualities work out at 2s. 3d. per lb.; and wool washed with silk or flax has a duty of 5s. 5½d. per lb. Duties upon wrought and unwrought metals (average for 83 articles and qualities) are 11s. 2½d. per cwt. Iron and steel frames and plates for waggons, tanks, boilers, etc., pay 5s. 1d. and 6s. 11d. per cwt.; wire ropes 9s. 9d., netting and fencing 7s. 3½d., wire from 2s. 10½d. to 6s. 1½d., piping 5s. 3½d. to 8s. 1½d. per cwt. Duties on pig iron, cogged steel billets, rails, iron and steel finished rods and bars and forgings pay about 50 per cent. less. Wire gauze is charged 12s. 2½d. and £1 16s. 7d. per cwt. Nails, hooks, and rivets pay 6s. 1½d., and screws, bolts, nuts, and washers, 6s. 3½d., 13s., and 15s. 5½d. per cwt. Steel tools for cutting, filing, planing, etc., pay 10s. 2d. and 16s. 8d. per cwt. Knives, razors, and penknives are lumped together under imposts at £4 1s. 3d. per cwt. Engines, boilers, and flywheels up to 1 ton weight pay 14s. 3d., to 2½ tons, 12s. 2½d., and over 2½ tons, 8s. 1½d. per cwt. Engines with boilers pay 16s. 3d., cranes 8s. 1½d., locomotives and tenders over 85 tons, 8s. 1½d., and under, 14s. 3½d. per cwt. Sewing machines (below 87 lbs.) pay £1 8s. 6d. per cwt. Agricultural machinery pays 4s. 0½d., textile machinery 7s. 6d., light metal, wood, and stone cutting machines 10s. 2d., and if over 10 cwt., 8s. 1½d., per cwt.

Generally speaking, the tariffs are crude and unscientific. The Catalonian and Biscayan manufacturers have combined to enforce prohibitive tariffs upon imported cotton and woollen materials. Their factory equipment is more than twenty-five years

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behind modern standards. Their foreign markets have decreased, and, except under favoured-nation clauses, they cannot compete with any average European nation abroad. Even to neighbouring Morocco Spain is only fourth or fifth in the scale of exporters. Unable to find a foreign market, cheap labour and bad factory management place poor and fragile light wearing material upon the home market at high prices, and the ordinary Spaniard is, therefore, poorly clad at high prices just within the tariff wall. Any resident in Biarritz will testify that the middle-class Spaniard, on holiday, makes a practice of purchasing a suit of clothes from the French tailors, for which, by the by, owing to his ignorance of prices, he often pays higher prices than do the inhabitants. Heavy rates upon machinery prevent the manufacturer from introducing improved plant he cannot procure in Spain. This is also true of small tools. That a "rat-tail" file or other tool weighing 1 oz. or 2 oz. should be taxed on the same scale as a file weighing 2 lb., and not costing one quarter of the price per lb. to make, is one of the absurdities of Spain's fiscal system. Until the country is prepared to develop her manufactures of iron and steel goods, the imposition of high tariffs simply stultifies her commercial progress and increases national poverty for the enrichment of a few factory owners who meet times of stagnation by appeals for heavier imposts or subsidies from the State.

Food taxation is another formidable burden on the back of the poor. Imported fresh meat pays ½d., bacon, ham, and pork, tinned beef or mutton, 1½d., and

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salt beef $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per lb. ; whilst landing taxes for oxen and cows are £1 8s., calves and pigs 8s. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ d., sheep and lambs 2s. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per head, added to local food taxes. Spanish flesh meat often pays a combined duty of 80 per cent. Flour pays 5s. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. and wheat 8s. 3d. per cwt. ; tea 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ d., raw cocoa 5d., manufactured cocoa 9d., coffee beans 5d., and roasted coffee and chicory 8d. per lb. Butter is taxed 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ d., margarine 3d., and cheese 1d. per lb. Biscuits pay 1d., fine confectionery 1s. 1d., sardines 1d., and other preserved fish (salmon, etc.) 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per lb. ; whilst beer is only charged 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. and spirits 5s. 10d. to 9s. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per gallon. Rice, a much used food, pays $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per lb. in the husk, and $\frac{1}{2}$ d. otherwise ; salt bears $\frac{1}{2}$ d., sugar 3d., and good quality molasses about the same price per lb. Staple foods of good quality are thus much dearer than in Great Britain. For instance, a 2-lb. tin of syrup, costing 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. in England, costs in Barcelona between 1s. 6d. and 2s. The national food tariffs, coupled with the high cost of railway and road carriage, local taxation of necessities, and laxity of supervision, give rise to forms of adulteration unheard of in the United Kingdom. Flour (to mention no other commodity) is seriously vitiated by deleterious mixtures. The saving features of popular diet are the use of nutritive bean (haricots, lentils, etc.) and nut foods and, in southern towns, the cheapness of fruits. In northern cities fruit is as dear as in England, except during the height of the season. Food taxation could only be justified, from a Protectionist standpoint, were the means of communication and agricultural development approximate to those of the more highly organised

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European nations. Whether it be goods or foods, most assuredly the purchaser pays the full amount of the tax *plus* profits on sale.

Exports of food-stuffs and raw materials, chiefly ores, amount to five-sixths of the total—of which iron, copper, lead, silver, and quicksilver make up two-fifths. Manufactured goods form one-fifth (about £6,000,000), and oranges and grapes another fifth; Catalonian cottons, wools, etc., the remaining portion. Of the imports, agricultural products compose one-eighth of the whole, the remainder (about £35,000,000) being manufactured goods, of which cotton articles and vegetable fibres monopolise about one-fifth of the whole, and machinery about one-tenth. Clearly Spain is not a manufacturing country, and is unable to export her finished goods.

One of the subtle causes of the popular opposition to the Melilla campaign (1909) was fear lest prices of food-stuffs, which rose nearly 30 per cent. after the Spanish-American War, and had never appreciably fallen towards the normal, would be further increased by a renewal of martial operations. This fact has apparently escaped the notice of writers. The poor Spaniard has a wholesome horror of *in-broglies* with other countries.

CHAPTER XVIII

HOW TAXES ARE EVADED

Smuggling Devices—Story of a Screw Propeller—Bribes and Tips to Customs Officers—Old-Age Pensions for State Officials—Dummy Offices—An Army of "Ins and Outs"—The Sons of Patricians as Clerks—Evasion of Death Duties and other Taxes—The Land Tax and How it is Evaded—A Land of "Topsy-Turvy Taxes."

CONTRABAND and fraud are inseparable from Spanish Customs. Deception is prevalent in every port. Newspapers constantly expose it; Ministers of State and high officials are charged with participation in the spoils; but little attempt is made to check the abuse. Probably 25 per cent. of tariff charges are wasted in bribery and the admittance of goods which pay only a fractional part of the duties.

Early in 1910 considerable discussion was aroused by the proposed purchase of thirteen second-hand gun-boats and cruisers. Public opinion, however, was satisfied by the assurance that the State had no money wherewith to buy "cast off" war vessels. The intention was to procure a few fast boats to control the highly-organised smuggling trade conducted by Spanish and foreign traders, not excluding certain ships hailing from British ports. It was stated (January 29th, 1910) by the then Minister of Marine that the contractors of the tobacco monopoly were unable to put down smuggling. "When this Company first undertook the task, there

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were 3 cruisers, 14 gun-boats, and 39 light cruisers on coastal duty. Later, in consequence of the exercise of powerful influence, the service of the fleet was dispensed with, but no economy was effected, since the Company receives more than £80,000 per annum from the State. The Company informs me that if the service is not replaced by the Company's boats, it will be better to declare free contraband."

Some of the devices resorted to in order to smuggle goods in duty-free are worthy of *opéra-bouffe*. A friend, who had already smuggled an organ into Seville free of duty, informed me how a piano, valued at £150, was "run" ashore. The vessel was supposed to be searched by the "carabineros" at the mouth of the Guadalquivir. The Excise officers lived aboard during the sail up the river, and helped to unload the piano from off the ship—for the usual consideration! Cargoes of soap have been dispatched in coaling vessels from a Welsh port and safely landed—no questions asked! The English manager of a woollen and worsted manufactory in Barcelona was approached by a person who offered to provide consignments of raw wool at two-thirds below the import duties. Obviously, wool bales in large quantities could not be passed without the connivance of Customs officials in the port, and thus several competing firms had been able to undercut prices. A few weeks later, the manager, happening to be in Madrid, laid a complaint before the Chief of Customs, and was blandly told that "it was most difficult to suppress smuggling, as the Government could not afford to pay proper wages to the Excise officers, who conse-

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quently became very lax in dealing with contraband." The manager, as requested, submitted his complaint in writing, but heard no more of the matter.

Every British captain calling at Spanish ports is familiar with the "case of the screw propeller." The steel screw of a cargo steamer which traded with Bilbao and other northern ports was damaged beyond repair during a rough voyage. The vessel was beached pending the arrival of a new propeller from England. At last, when the steamer was about to sail, the captain was informed that he had to pay a duty for putting ashore a manufactured article—namely, the "scrapped" propeller! The captain protested and offered to drop it into the sea, but the officials were obdurate. They seized the ship, and demanded payment. The captain declined to ease the tension by the customary bribe, and complained to the British Foreign Office. The duty was returned, but the captain was warned to be very careful about contraband, and for several voyages nothing occurred. Several months later some slight inaccuracy in the ship's papers and the declaration of cargo gave the excisemen their chance, and the vessel was not allowed to leave until a heavy fine, corresponding to the original propeller duty, was paid.

On the whole, the Customs officers are a good sort, but their miserable salaries force them to solicit bribes from captains and consignees. This tipping also goes on at the toll-house at every town and village where the local and Government food taxes are gathered. In small places the mayor and town clerk, with a few of the elected councillors, decide the scale of food taxes,

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and the producer, coming into town with his mule-drawn or donkey load of grapes, oranges, potatoes, carrots, and the like, pays a toll, more or less made at sight by the Customs guard. Shopkeepers are taxed in a similar manner. A countryman going home from market is liable to a tax upon his purchases unless he tips the officer. It would be interesting to know the number of motor-cars which enter Seville, Barcelona, and Madrid every year, systematically conveying contraband food-stuffs. The whole arrangements of the Customs offer a direct incentive to smuggling, and the wholesale bribery must deprive Government annually of hundreds of thousands of pounds. The astute prosper, a host of intermediaries fatten upon an artful system of "arranging" Customs and tax payments between officials and consignees, but the purchaser pays for all. Evasion of tariffs has been raised to a fine art with the ready assistance of State officials, who could not be honest *and live*.

Some years ago the Conservatives decreed that Customs and Excise officers should be immovable, save for offences committed in the course of duty. This innovation might have had far-reaching effects in gradually forming *esprit de corps* and inculcating a sense of self-respect and regard for honest dealing. But Señor Maura, the Conservative Premier, practically restored the bad old system by decreeing (1904) that the officers could be dismissed for convenience of the service or reform of the staff, or suppression of office, without right of appeal. The Department of Excise and Exchequer costs about £750,000 a year,

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chiefly for salaries, while Customs annually yield some £6,000,000, or about one-seventh of the total value of imports.

If Canalejas and his Minister of Public Works—Señor Calbeton—succeed in establishing a compulsory contributory scheme of Old-Age Pensions for all State officials, this reform will save a heavy charge. These pensions are now paid to widows, orphans, retired officers, etc., and absorb £1,540,000 per annum. Known as *clases pasivas*, these pensions are often illegal, being simply "political" gifts.

Another pressing reform is the abolition of *canongias politicas*, or dummy offices held by friends of the Government. It is probable that over 25 per cent. of State officials do little more than sign their pay-sheets. This system of jobbery enables politicians to reward their active supporters at the public expense. A journalist held six posts under one Ministry, but the only work he did was to walk to the office on pay-day. A professor in a teachers' training college never entered the building. The friends of every Government and party clique expect to share in this plunder of the people's purse.

In Madrid there is a small army of civil servants who form the Ins and Outs—that is, the employed and the idlers, according to the party which happens to be in power. They are mainly recruited from those who have been lucky enough to secure "political" recommendations. As long as the pernicious principle of "To the victors, the spoils" obtains, no Government can establish a permanent staff of men competent adequately to discharge their duties. Under the existing

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system those young men who are "marked" out for promotion in the near future scarcely pass three hours a day at their desks. In fact, many are allowed indefinite holidays on full salary. Consequently those employees who are entirely without influence must attend to the necessary routine and do other persons' work as well as their own. Every Spaniard knows that before he can deal with a Government department he must bribe several officials. Baksheesh is part of their salary.

Government offices are harbours of refuge for youthful hangers-on. They are always of good parentage, dress scrupulously, and wear a somewhat solemn if rather vacant look. Their salaries are too little to live upon, but their duties are even lighter. But how do they come to be there, these sons of patricians? They have condescended to dispossess the poor but hardworking clerks whose principal fault was that they had no "political" patron. Naturally the presence of a person who writes for the Press in any capacity is greatly resented by these embryonic statesmen. Possibly his connection with this or that journal may not become known, but should the fact leak out, he will not be allowed to take part in the routine of the office, and will be gradually reduced to such humble duties as the answering of inquiries. Persecution will not stop there. Jealousy is evident on all hands; and if the journalist is not soon transferred he will probably be dismissed or obliged to resign out of self-respect. The reason is not far to seek. "A chiel amang them takin' notes" is a dangerous person. He would soon know too much, and something detrimental to the staff would be sure

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to come to light. " Thus conscience doth make cowards of us all."

Death duties are systematically evaded to such an extent that it is estimated that the Treasury is defrauded every year of several hundreds of thousands of pounds. In 1910 a Commission was appointed to inquire and report. Under the title of *depósitos indistintos* no less than £20,800,000 is invested in the Bank of Spain alone. This method of investing funds in the names of two or more depositors is a favourite course adopted by monastic and conventual associations desirous of hiding their wealth from public knowledge, and it is alleged that a considerable portion of their moneys has been transferred to Swiss banks to make assurance doubly sure. Under penalty of fines for non-observance, banks can now be compelled to give periodical reports as to the manipulation of accounts held in joint names.

Señor Alvarado, when Chancellor of the Exchequer, issued a Decree (January 19th, 1910) with the object of arresting fraudulent returns of minerals. Since Spain exports the greatest portion of her iron, copper, lead, and other ores, the State tax of 8 per cent. seems a legitimate impost. Nevertheless, the duty is flagrantly evaded by the foreign mining companies which exploit these resources. The system of compulsory quarterly returns of minerals raised, based upon the average prices prevalent during the preceding three months, accompanied by a return of freights and consignments by vessels, and checked by State officials, would appear excellent. An accurate return of freights from Bilbao,



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Huelva, Seville, and other ports, however, would prove that the Exchequer is defrauded of one-third of its income from mineral royalties. These frauds would easily be detected if the State officials only did their duty, but the neglect is another penalty paid by Spain for "sweating" her most responsible servants.

Another Decree of Alvarado, issued on the same date, endeavours to check abuses of the Industrial Contribution, a form of taxation imposed upon factories, mills, and workshops, and divided into two grades of *alta y baja* (high and low). The defective organisation of the Excise and Treasury cannot be better illustrated than by the fact that one clause of the Decree requests chambers of commerce and trade unions to add to the lists of factories officially registered the names of any concerns which do not appear upon the returns. In other words, Government cannot trust the officials to discover the whereabouts of factories and workshops in any given locality. The manufacturers of Catalonia and the Basque provinces are said to detest this form of taxation and to use their best efforts to evade it. The tax is returned approximately at £1,800,000 per annum. The present Chancellor of the Exchequer (Cobian) declared (April 20th, 1910) that very few excise officers were able to examine balance sheets and thus detect gross frauds upon income tax returns.

In truth the constant evasion of their just dues, on the part of wealthy persons and corporations, is really discreditable. During 1907, "Juan de Aragon"—Editor of *La Correspondencia*, and one of the chief writers for the Conservative Press—made some startling

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exposures of wholesale frauds. His conclusion—probably somewhat exaggerated—was that there were scarcely a dozen great stores in the whole of Spain, and that jewellers' shops might be counted upon the fingers of one hand. He meant to bring out the fact that high-class shopkeepers no less than manufacturers played fast and loose with the State taxation of their establishments. The Marquis of Casa-Pacheco stated in *El Mundo* (August 30th, 1909) that statistics compiled by the Governor of Corunna showed that out of 4,104 establishments (in the province) which sold spirituous liquors and wines, the Excise had cognisance of only 2,812. That is to say, some 33 per cent. of publicans in a single province did not pay State licensing taxes.

The tax on rural property, land, and livestock brings in a little over £5,000,000, equal to about 10d. an acre. But while some farmers pay 20s. to 30s. an acre yearly—an exorbitant amount—others escape scot-free. Where land is highly cultivated in small estates the State extracts the uttermost farthing, but land which is purposely uncultivated and neglected escapes.

Since the land tax has been in force, evasion has been practised by resident landowners on a colossal scale. It is estimated that no fewer than 7,500,000 acres of irrigated land do not figure in the returns, that second-class arable land, either partially irrigated or not irrigated at all, inclusive of many olive gardens and vineyards, gives a shortage of 38,000,000 acres, and that pasturage, semi-barren and heath lands are 50,000,000

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acres below correct figures. Under the last-named are included 12,500,000 acres of pine, oak, or mixed woods and forests. Could an accurate register be rigorously enforced, the Exchequer would benefit to the extent of £8,000,000 per annum. A Departmental report (August, 1910) states that 7,250,000 acres of land in Cadiz, Cordova, Granada, Malaga, and Seville provinces, at a taxable value of £3,288,625, are not assessed, and that 70 per cent. of agricultural land in Granada province escapes taxation.

In an article in its issue for December 31st, 1909, *El Pais* concisely summed up the trend and effects of national taxation. "Spain," it wrote, "is the land of topsy-turvy taxes. They fall lightly upon the powerful and heavily upon the poor. The worker pays more than the idler, the producer more than the usurer, and the cultivator more than the landed proprietor. The house owner is more heavily burdened than the site owner, the merchant than the banker, and the professor, doctor, and lawyer bear a heavier load than the holder of Consols." Another burden is Spain's civil list of £386,000 per year. In proportion to population alone, the cost is double that of the English Royal Family.

CHAPTER XIX

THE REVOLT THAT FAILED

Unpopularity of the War with Morocco—The Reservists Called Up—The Rising in Barcelona—Religious Houses Attacked—The Revolt Suppressed—Arrest of Ferrer—His Career—Organising Secular Education—The Law as to Military Trials—How it was Violated in Ferrer's Case—The Prisoner Isolated from His Friends—The Trial a Farce—Confiscation of Ferrer's Property—The Conservative and Liberal Leaders involved in a Common Ruin—Canalejas Defends the Trial—Half the Evidence Suppressed.

As it turned out, the Barcelona revolution of the last week of July, 1909, was nothing but a fierce demonstration of the wrath of a long-suffering people, who, without means of obtaining redress of grievance and wrong, had, in wild despair, set in motion forces which they could not control. Something more definite was, no doubt, originally contemplated, but the plot—whether Anarchist or Republican, or both—went awry. Why it failed can only be conjectured, but the probability is that the rank and file, wearied, impatient, and sick at heart, precipitated a crisis which ended in defeat, tragedy, and the triumph of the oppressors.

It is necessary to hark back to the origin of the outbreak. Mainly through the instrumentality of the British Government, Spain had been entrusted with the policing of the littoral of Melilla and the Riff, which had already involved her in two wars (1859 and 1898) within recent times, although, owing to her want of

influence among the Powers, on neither occasion did she gain any of the territory to which she, of all nations outside of Morocco, had most claim. This barren region, backed by high bare mountains, is believed to be rich in lead, iron, and other minerals.

El Roghi, the Moroccan pretender, had secured a strong position in the district, and his warriors were armed with modern rifles—some of Mauser type. In return for Spanish support, he gave mining concessions—to which he had no rightful title—to two Spanish companies. The first company had for its president Señor Villanueva (a Liberal ex-Minister of Agriculture), and other directors were the Duke of Tovar, Count Romanones, and Mr. Macpherson, of Cadiz, who is, or was, in the employ of the Marqués de Comillas. The second company, with French capital, was under the chairmanship of Garcia Alix, a Conservative ex-Minister. They began to construct railways. The lines and works were guarded by Spanish troops, and the jealous Moors, who had, meanwhile, thrown in their lot with the Nationalist Sultan (Mulai Hafid), and deserted the Roghi (Ben Hamara), affected to regard this as an invasion of their country, and, on July 9th, 1909, slew four workmen employed by the Spanish-French company. Spain immediately declared war upon the tribesmen. It has been said, among others by Señor Villanueva (who had previously resigned his position), that these murders were deliberately provoked in order to bring about intervention and prevent the certain loss of the companies' capital.

There is not the least doubt that the declaration

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of war was intensely unpopular. The Cabinet concealed the facts from the country, and, instead of summoning Parliament, which had already been prorogued, ordered General Marina to take up the offensive, and voted credits for the necessary supplies. Scarcely a responsible journal defended the Government's action, and *La Correspondencia*, a Conservative paper, printed the following striking warning by Señor Romeo, its editor :—

“Let Governments not forget to govern,” it wrote, “and Kings to rule. There is a thousand times greater peril in going to Morocco than in staying at home. Maura once said that the Law of Associations was civil war. I tell him that going to Morocco is the revolution, and in saying so I serve my country and my King much more faithfully than by making my King and country believe that going to Morocco is good for the nation and Morocco.”

Strong protests immediately surged throughout the land, but Government brought matters to a head by calling upon Reservists to join the forces at Melilla. This incensed the masses, whose families were thus bereft of breadwinners, and vividly recalled the *débâcle* of 1897, when many Reservists perished or got no pay, whilst the rich man's son, if he chose, procured exemption through influence, or by payment of £60. Nor could they forget the rise in food prices, which had never since regained their former level. On July 28rd, the Mayor of Madrid suspended the City Council rather than permit a vote hostile to the war, and public meetings were proclaimed at Bilbao and Valencia. The

entraining of Reservists and regulars was the occasion of huge demonstrations in various cities.

On the 20th of July, Madrid Reservist troops were due to leave for Malaga. An enormous crowd surrounded the barracks, and the streets were thronged. At 10.30 p.m., as the first battalion left for the station, thousands of voices yelled "*Viva el Ejercito! Abajo la Guerra!*" ("Long live the Army! Down with the War!") The mounted police and Civil Guards concealed in the Home Secretary's office were powerless to control the vast wave of throbbing humanity. When the soldiers reached the terminus, women and children shrieked piteously: "Will you leave me alone?" "Don't go, father!" "For God's sake, father dear, don't go!" "Take me with you!" The poor Reservist kissed his dear ones. It was all the answer he could give. At length, after heart-rending, memory-haunting scenes, the last train of Reservists left at 4.45 a.m., and the crowd, with a final "Long live the Army! Down with the War!" went home to curse and weep. The women of Saragossa threw themselves across the railway metals and had to be forcibly removed. Troopships sailed from Malaga and Barcelona, with whole regiments who cried out, "Down with the War!"

On Friday, July 23rd, the Barcelona Trade Union Federation (*Solidaridad Obrera*) intended to hold a conference to protest against the war, but the police prevented the meeting. The delegates thereupon decided to inaugurate a general strike on the following Monday, and by noon of that day the protest strike was made effective. The Civil Governor, Ossorio, resigned in



Photo: Illustrations Bureau

GUARDING A CHURCH AFTER THE BARCELONA REVOLT

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protest, and Captain-General Santiago at once declared a state of war in Barcelona, and Government suspended civil law throughout Spain on the same day. Santiago, however, was afraid to disperse the crowds, as there were only 800 Catalan troops in the city. Early on Tuesday Barcelona was cut off from the rest of the world, except by cable. Railway lines were uprooted, telegraph wires broken, street pavings pulled up, and hundreds of barricades constructed, women as well as men joining in the work. Several ammunition and gun shops were sacked, and revolution of a sort was a fact.

Early in the afternoon the convent and church of the Jeronimas nuns were in flames, but the huge mob threatened to shoot the fire brigade, which had turned out to do its duty, if it dared to extinguish the conflagration. A friend witnessed a strange scene in the Ronda de San Pablo. At first it appeared as though the Escolapian monks were throwing their books and papers from the upper windows into the street below. Boys and girls of from thirteen to sixteen years of age were carrying them into the right wing of the building. But when the fire broke out on that side of the edifice, he knew that these were incendiaries. All told, there were not more than thirty of them, yet three streets away (in El Paralelo) was half a battalion of artillery which refused to act. The convent in Plaza Letamendi, near the University, was prepared for the flames. A group of fifteen persons broke down the door, pulled out the window frames, saturated them with paraffin, and set fire to the building. A few cavalry soldiers

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approached the place, but, apparently sympathetic, marched complacently away amid the applause of the crowd. Altogether sixty-one convents, churches attached to convents, and parish churches were wholly or partially destroyed, the loss amounting to nearly £500,000. The demoralisation of the soldiers and inactivity of the Civil Guard—who, combined, could easily have prevented three-fourths of the damage—were chiefly responsible for the convent-burning. Their attitude, at first, was too palpable to be misunderstood.

Despite the bitterly anti-Catholic feeling, the monks and nuns, in every instance, were advised in time to make good their escape and very few were molested. In fact, only two priests were killed, one of whom had a firearm in his hand when his dead body was recovered, and a nun was murdered. Private property was respected as a rule, and, save in churches and convents, there was little theft and pillage. Several priests and monks were arrested for firing upon the troops out of revenge for their acquiescence in the work of the rioters, but none was punished. A priest, from the secure shelter of the clock tower of the church in Plazuela del Pablo, potted the soldiers until he was detected, brought down, and arrested, only to be released. By Thursday reinforcements arrived, order was restored on Friday, and revolution had fallen to zero the next day. The Civil Governor resigned on July 26th, and from that date, for about fourteen days, the city was under military command. Altogether 71 rioters, soldiers, and police were killed, and 26 police were severely, and 17 slightly, wounded. Probably

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about 500 rioters were injured. The revolution also broke out in Tarrasa, Sabadell, Manresa (where three convents and their churches were wholly or partially destroyed), and other places.

Nearly 4,000 persons were arrested, and 1,000 sentences were recorded in fourteen days. No publicity was given to the trials, and most of the sentences were not allowed to be printed. When the Bishop of Barcelona declared that the children attending secular and Rationalist day-schools had destroyed the convents, and the local Catholic Social Defence Committee had interviewed him, the Home Secretary (La Cierva) ordered the closure of ninety of these schools, and thirty night-schools and *ateneos obreros*, as well as all Republican and trade union clubs, etc. Early in September, all the schoolmasters and teachers were forcibly banished to places 180 miles from the city, and remained under supervision until civil law was restored on November 8th, 1909. Some 500 persons were temporarily exiled, none of whom could be accused either of crime or of complicity with crime. Of those sentenced, it is probable that the majority were guilty persons, but nothing can justify the savagery of some of the punishments. For "rebellion" and "complicity" in setting fire to twenty-nine railway waggons at St. Vincent de Castallet, twelve persons were condemned to chains for life, and a youth of eighteen received 16½ years' penal servitude. Five men—Miguel Baro, Antonio Malet Pujol, Eugenio del Hoyo, Clemente Garcia, and Francisco Ferrer Guardia—were executed in the moat of Montjuich. One Ledesma, a Republican and atheist, took pity upon a

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nun, who, with three children, was fleeing from a burning convent. He protected and fed them for three days, and received a letter of thanks from the mother superior. Arrested shortly afterwards, one of the witnesses against him was the very nun whom he had sheltered in his house !

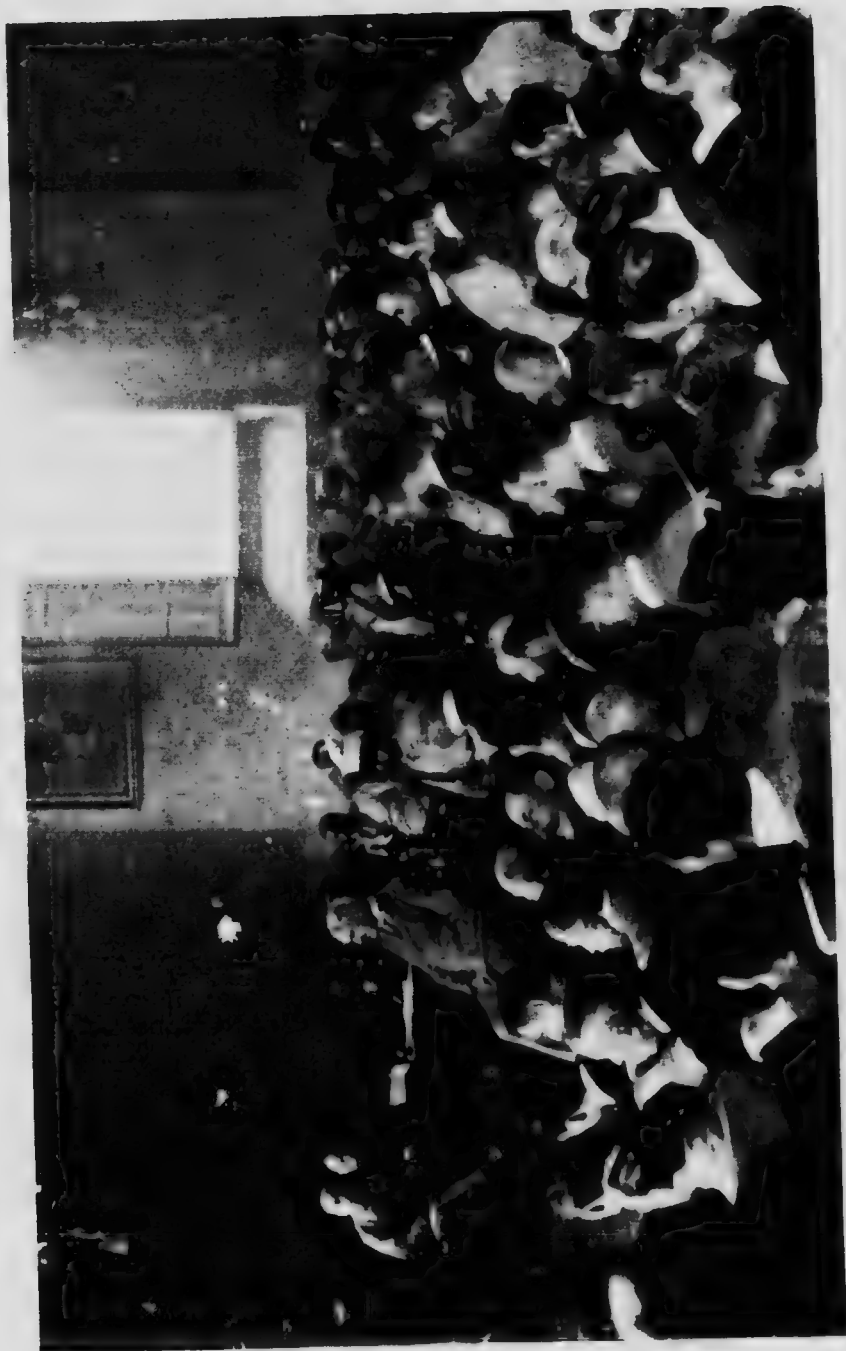
But there was one man in particular whom the Catholics had doomed at all costs. This was Francisco Ferrer Guardia. Born at Alella in 1859, the son of Catholic parents, in early manhood he adopted Republican opinions, and, after a revolt in 1885, was compelled to flee to Paris, where he acted as secretary to Ruiz Zorrilla, who had been Prime Minister during Amadeo's reign. Having, what is a most rare gift in a Spaniard, a genius for organisation, he afterwards became a teacher of Spanish in the Paris Lyceum, which adopted a textbook and grammar he had written. Later, he embraced the creed of Anarchy, although he well knew that revolution could not succeed until his compatriots were educated sufficiently to realise their powers of thought and action.

His professional duties brought him into contact with Mademoiselle Meunier, a wealthy Parisian lady, who, attracted by his scheme for establishing Rationalist elementary day-schools in Spain which should include rudimentary science and kindergarten, instead of the fossilised system and religious curricula in Catholic schools, willed him, four months before her death, in 1901, one-fourth of her fortune (£20,000) for the purpose of endowing such schools. Ferrer immediately formed his organisation in Barcelona, under the title of La

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TRIAL OF FRANCISCO FERRER

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Escuela Moderna, or the Modern School, and founded an educational monthly magazine (*Boletín de la Escuela Moderna*), which had a wide circulation in Spanish scholastic circles. The want of good educational primers was met by the starting of a library and publishing business at 596, Calle de Bailen, under the management, latterly, of a Republican writer—Cristobal Litran. In all, Ferrer published some forty textbooks upon science and elementary subjects, inclusive of French and Children's First Aid (Ambulance) Manuals.

Beyond their rationalistic conception of the universe and, in two of the books, the inculcation of anti-militarism, there is nothing in the whole forty volumes which can in the remotest degree justify the Catholic assertions that murder, pillage, etc., were taught in his books and in the schools. Ferrer's sole object was to organise an active education frankly opposed to Catholicism. His work grew, and in 1906 there were fifty-four schools in different parts of Spain. Schools, however, were often closed and teachers arrested upon various pretexts, and Ferrer himself was exposed to considerable annoyances, in 1905 escaping a deliberate plot to incriminate him in a bomb outrage, through one of the men, Navarro, who was expected to trap him, loathing the dastardly scheme and refusing to sell his soul for gold (see the *Labour Leader* for November 26th, 1909 and *La Vanguardia* of Buenos Ayres for October 24th, 1909).

Ferrer's detention for a year for alleged complicity in the bomb outrage on King Alfonso's wedding-day (May 31st, 1906) was the excuse for closing his schools during twelve months, but upon his release (in June,

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1907), the work increased, and the issue of books continued. Not only did he enlarge his magazine, but he arranged for French, Belgian, and Italian editions (early in 1908), under the titles of *L'École Rénovée* and *La Scuola Laica*. At the same time he formed an International League for the Rationalist Education of Childhood, of which Mr. W. Heaford was the English, and Ernst Haeckel the German, president. With the object of commissioning more textbooks for his library, and also to improve his already fair knowledge of English, Ferrer came to England in April, 1909. In the course of a few weeks, however, against the advice and warning of his friends, who felt that his life was never safe when in Spain, he left London for Barcelona, upon receipt of an urgent letter from his brother José, a farmer who lived at Mas Germinal, Mongat, near Barcelona, after having spent several years in Australia, to the effect that his wife and daughter were dangerously ill of fever. The child (Ferrer's niece) died on June 19th, and this single, solitary fact explained his presence in Barcelona before the outbreak of the revolution.

Ferrer was informed on July 29th that a nun was spreading a rumour that he had been seen at the head of a band of revolutionaries who were burning a convent. Unable to clear the country, he was arrested at Alella in the small hours of August 31st, 1909. The Attorney-General (Ugarte) had already reported that Ferrer was leader of the revolution, although at the trial he could only give evidence that the statement was "hearsay"; but the damning fact that convicted the Government of

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partisanship and prejudice came in the middle of September, when La Cierva decorated the Mayor of Alella and presented swords of honour to the police who arrested Ferrer. Further, they were presented with £120 as a practical token of esteem from the Government. Ferrer was not tried until a month after these rewards were made public.

Since the claim was advanced on behalf of the Government that it had secured Ferrer a fair trial, it is necessary to consider the procedure under which he was tried. The military law (1890) provides that the accused is not required to testify upon oath. He may read over all his statements after writing them down, and sign them. He can express his assent or afterwards rectify any statement. His declarations are read to him before he is questioned by the Judge, and he may verbally, or in writing, refuse to accept as true the evidence of any witness, and also make statements whenever he desires. Witnesses dictate, read, sign, or correct their evidence and captious or leading questions are forbidden. Witnesses and accused are confronted in order to discuss their evidence, and witnesses are placed together and may be cross-examined so as to compare, agree upon, or correct their declarations, while endeavours are made to settle points of difference and contradiction. For identification, the prisoner is placed with six others of similar appearance and physique. Searches and confiscation of documents, etc., are made in the presence of the accused or some of his family, or two witnesses.

When the Judge of Instruction decides that the

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summary of evidence is terminated, it is sent to the Captain-General, who forwards it to his auditor—a lawyer who may obtain further legal assistance—who determines whether the case is in legal order and constitutes a clear charge. The auditor may demand more evidence, amplify previous statements by fuller investigation, and admit or decline the case for trial. If amplification be necessary, the Judge of Instruction must make further declarations, and, if accepted, the case is then approved for trial.

During the whole of this period, the prisoner has not had any legal assistance, nor duplicates of his statements, or of the evidence against him. He is not allowed to cross-examine every witness; the Judge of Instruction—that is, the prosecution—decides this point.

The case then goes to trial. The Public Prosecutor is selected, the accused nominates his defender from a list of military officers (not lawyers) whom he has possibly never seen or heard of. Defender and accused are given facilities to consult freely and read over documents (including the prosecutor's charges) in the Judge's office. The accused can allege incompetence of the court, assert his innocence, demand corroboration of the evidence against him, and the production of new witnesses. Further, he is allowed to appeal to the civil court if he is let or hindered in the execution of his defence. Then the documents are again examined, and, if they are approved, each side formulates its case. No witnesses appear in court, and no public cross-examination is possible. The Court-Martial consists of a President (a Colonel), and six Captains. Sentence

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is passed, approved by the Auditor-General, and forwarded to the Supreme Council of War for confirmation.

The whole system is abominable. Everything is secret. The prosecution has throughout the best legal advice, while the accused must trust to his wits. Moreover, he is already treated as a condemned man. Confined in a foul cell for from one to five or more months, he is often not allowed to see any friend. Ferrer and others were deprived of their money, clothing, etc., and dressed in prison garb. Suspense, terrible mental anxiety, the depression of solitary confinement do not equip a man for the day of trial. When the case is ready the defence is entrusted to a soldier-captain who may (theoretically) have to protest against the conduct of the prosecution, who may be, and some of whom are, his superior officers in the Army. Under such a system only a Daniel come to judgment could secure justice for an accused contending against such odds.

The law was violated. During the secret investigations Ferrer was only confronted with four out of sixty witnesses. The two most important searches at his house were flagrantly illegal. The evidence was given to the Fiscal on October 5th, and his accusation (folios 566-588), which cited 54 pages of evidence and eight articles of military law, was returned within twenty-four hours. Ferrer had scarcely time in which to read the evidence. The trial (October 9th) took five hours, and on the same evening the documents and verdict were sent to the Auditor-General for acceptance or otherwise. Although compelled to examine the whole of the evidence and trial proceedings, this military referee returned a

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favourable report of 40 folios on the following day, and the Supreme Council of War in Madrid ratified the sentence on Tuesday, October 12th. Thus everything was done to hurry the trial and execution before Parliament assembled on October 15th.

Ferrer's lawyer, Captain Galceran, declared that he was allowed only twenty-four hours to study 588 folios of evidence and accusations, and draw up the defence, and that he was prevented from verifying the evidence adduced by the prosecution because the prescribed time-limit had expired prior to his appointment. One of the chief witnesses, a youth of twenty years (Domenech by name), had already been spirited away to South America, provided with money (£600 is said to have been the sum) by Barcelona's Committee of Social Defence, in order to keep him out of the way. Yet his evidence, which could not be tested, was admitted. Another witness—a Barcelona journalist on the staff of *El Progreso*—was in compulsory exile in Majorca—ten hours' sail from Barcelona—and was only enabled publicly to denounce his supposed evidence some two months later. Ferrer's wife, his brother José and family, Anselmo Lorenzo, Cristobal Litran, and several schoolmasters, who could have given evidence as to his whereabouts and conversation during the first three days of the revolution, were summarily sent into forced exile at Alcañiz and Teruel on August 19th. They were not allowed to leave their apartments except under police surveillance; the milkman was accompanied by a policeman; the house was locked at 7 p.m., and a temporary police barracks, erected opposite, enabled the Civil Guard to watch it day and

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night. A special messenger from the Court-Martial informed Ferrer's people that they would be sent for to give evidence when convenient. They waited and waited, until, growing suspicious, Ferrer's wife asked that they should be allowed to testify. They were then calmly informed, with due regrets, that the case was already made up and their evidence inadmissible. This fact is recorded in the documents of the *affaire* and alone vitiates the whole trial. In purposely preventing Captain Galceran from defending his client, the prosecution deliberately violated the Article of their own law securing to the accused the right of civil appeal if he be hindered in preparing his case—also a fact sufficient to warrant a new trial or even instant acquittal.

Ferrer was in solitary confinement from August 31st to October 2nd. He demanded newspapers in order to see the Press evidence against him. It was supplied to him on October 6th, on the afternoon of which day he learned, for the first time, that he was to be tried on the 9th. Next day, every Barcelona evening paper was prevented by military censorship from announcing the date of the trial, and the Barcelona correspondent of *El Mundo*, in stating the fact, mentioned that he had to send his information to Madrid by post. Again, Ferrer and his defender asked for English newspapers (in which comment had appeared) to be sent to him. Manchester and London daily papers were forwarded, but they were either delayed or seized. I posted and doubly registered a letter to him, and cuttings from the *Sheffield Independent* (Liberal), on Friday, October

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8th, at 8.30 a.m. The receipt came back on Friday, October 15th, and must have been signed by Ferrer only a few minutes before he was executed. Probably he had no opportunity of reading my letter. The letter and parcel were purposely delayed three days in delivery. The same evening (October 8th) I posted and doubly registered a parcel of copies of the *Sheffield Daily Telegraph* (Conservative) to Captain Galceran. The receipt arrived in Sheffield on December 2nd, twenty-five days later, and there was no date-stamp on the document. Evidence, forwarded from London, confuting statements of Ferrer's "revolutionary plots" in that city during May and June, 1909, never reached the defence.

The trial (October 9th) is dealt with in Mr. Joseph McCabe's "Martyrdom of Ferrer," and exhaustively examined in Dr. L. Simarro's (D.M.) "El Proceso Ferrer y la Opinión Europea." The hearing was a farce, and Ferrer's execution (October 13th) murder. His doom dated from the day of his arrest. The world's condemnation which immediately followed was not a confession of faith in Ferrer's innocence, nor an avowal of sympathy with his opinions. It meant that the whole trial was a hideous travesty of justice and an outrage on civilisation and the conscience of mankind.

Ferrer's schools were closed, his deposit at the Bank of Spain, the house at Mongat, and his business premises, library, and book mart at 596, Calle de Bailen, as well as his personal effects, were all placed under embargo one month before his trial. The death sentence



Photo: Illustrations Bureau

A BARCELONA STREET AFTER THE REVOLT

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entailed confiscation of his Spanish property, money, and investments; the proceeds of the sale of which were to be devoted towards indemnifying the Church for losses sustained during the outbreak.

Señor Canalejas signalled his accession to office by assenting to the public agitation, which had been carried on for several months throughout Spain, in favour of an amnesty to prisoners and those undergoing sentence for participation in the *semana sangrienta* of July 26th to 30th, 1909. The Decree, which was signed by the King on February 22nd, 1910, applied to all Press offences, whether tried or under trial, libel only being excepted. Sentences concerning religious and other crimes were revoked and unheard cases abandoned. Thus, dozens of insensate sentences and pending trials were erased. Prisoners convicted of or prosecuted for crimes of sedition and rebellion, the penalty for which might be almost nominal (two months' detention), or as much as twenty years' imprisonment, were to be instantly released, and all trials withdrawn. Those convicted or accused of abetting, provoking, persuading, or inciting to conspiracy with a view to acts of rebellion were to be set free. Life sentences inflicted by courts-martial were commuted to (1) exile to any foreign country; or (2) residence in a specified part of Spain; or (3) exile from Barcelona at a distance to be fixed—the courts-martial to determine in each case which form of exile should apply. Prisoners awaiting trial for acts of rebellion were to remain in prison until courts-martial had either liberated them if not guilty or pronounced the form of exile in the

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event of their guilt. Those who had been punished for incendiarism, robbery, destruction of telegraphs and railway lines, etc., and armed rebels caught *in flagrante delicto*, were excluded from amnesty. In this respect the Republicans disapproved of the Decree. They demanded the liberation of all the prisoners concerned in the rising. Seven trials by jury in open court, between August and November 17th, 1910, of prisoners accused of burning or sacking convents proved conclusively that monks, police and private witnesses gave, or were made responsible for, perjured or anonymous evidence. In several cases the prosecution either withdrew their charges or refused the evidence of many witnesses. In every instance the accused were acquitted after suffering imprisonment for over twelve months.

Singularly enough, the Ferrer tragedy involved the leaders of both the Conservative and the Liberal parties in a common ruin. The strange, eventful history was communicated by an ex-Minister to *La Mañana*, which made it public in its issue of January 25th, 1910. Señor Maura, the Conservative Premier, who was in office during the *affaire*, realising the responsibility of his position, decided to consult Señor Moret, the head of the Opposition, and wrote to him in these terms:—

“ The Council of War in Barcelona has passed sentence of death upon Ferrer. The sentence was unanimous, and has been approved by the Supreme Council of War and Marine, which finds no fault either with the legality of the procedure or the penalty imposed. Nevertheless, and particularly through our Ambassadors in Rome and Paris, the Govern-

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ment is aware that the sentence will provoke much censure and give rise to great protests. The Government also knows that the Anarchists who sympathise with Ferrer will promptly make tremendous reprisals. The Home Secretary and myself have received an endless number of anonymous threats, which are also confirmed by the police. If these threats only related to my person I should take no notice of them, as I am ready to face every danger, and even death, rather than fail to carry out the high duties and responsibility of my office. But these threats, as is confirmed by the confidential information from the police, affect one who is superior to all. His Holiness Pius X. has telegraphed to the King imploring mercy for the criminal. His Majesty seems inclined to grant it. The Government is unanimous in its opinion, but, thinking of the King, I do not wish to face all the consequences of the execution without taking your opinion." Señor Moret answered: "I think you must not recommend the King to exercise the Royal prerogative. The Government must order the sentence to be carried out. To act otherwise would be a surrender of all the attributes of virility."

When the Cortes opened on October 15th, 1909, Moret addressed a feeble interpellation to Maura about his policy in Catalonia and the Riff. He knew that the internal and foreign agitation was principally due to the shooting of Ferrer; this was, at least, the pretext, in Spain and abroad, for a united effort to secure the Government's downfall. Moret, however, who had advised the execution, and invoked the "attributes of virility" to prevent any reprieve, could not at first turn against the Administration. Notwithstanding, on the very next day, unable to resist the temptations of office, he demanded the immediate resignation of the Government.

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"The Government fell," said the ex-Minister, "and Maura is in opposition. Moret is Prime Minister, but Maura will never pardon the man who, confidentially invited upon loyal grounds to save the regime, nevertheless listened to the voice of party politicians and office-seekers, compromised what he had privately sanctioned, imperiously clamoured for power, and forgot the bonds of honour. . . . Moret may rely upon it that his term of Prime Minister will be short. Maura has decided it, and there can be no possible agreement between the two men. Maura will give his support to the man who will supersede Moret, whatever may be his programme."

Moret fell fourteen days later.

In the early part of 1910, the Royal printers (Sucesores de Rivadencheira) by authority of Moret's Government, issued gratis a pamphlet on the Ferrer trial. The contents were copied from the official documents, but Capt. Galceran's defence was omitted. During the "Ferrer debate" in Congress, in July, 1910, the Government promised, but failed, to place the full evidence before the House. The contents of 309 out of 588 folios of evidence are not referred to in any official or Press comments of the trial. Hitherto, it has not been possible accurately to assign the reason why Ferrer's case was detached from those of Emiliano Iglesias, M.P., Ardiaca, Alted and Zurdo Olivares, who, as "instigators, directors and organisers of the rebellion," were tried in open court on March 4th, 1910, when the first three were liberated and the last named was exiled. A well founded theory places the responsibility on the shoulders of Maura's Government. Had Ferrer been tried with the four Republicans, it is certain that he would not have been executed.

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Against the opinions of some of his closest friends, and departing from his previous neutral attitude, Canalejas (October, 1910), yielding to pressure from exalted personages and the Army, declared that Ferrer was guilty and had received a fair trial. In doing so, he did not attempt to confute any of the written indictments of the trial penned by such writers as Anatole France, Alfred Naquet, Joseph McCabe, William Heaford, William Archer, and Cunninghame Graham. Simultaneously, Canalejas countenanced systematic sequestration of articles printed on or about the anniversary of Ferrer's execution, while several writers were prosecuted, and "Ferrer" meetings were prohibited. King Alfonso also authorised a contributor to an English magazine to publish an interview asserting Ferrer's guilt, without adducing necessary proofs or challenging the indictments of Dr. Simaro's book.

If the Government intend to vindicate the "honour of Spain" they should at once present the whole of the evidence, trial proceedings, Auditor-General's report, etc., for impartial investigation. A second trial could not restore Ferrer's life, but official assertion of his guilt, so long as half the evidence is withheld, will never carry conviction to impartial minds. It is also curious that, fourteen months after his death, Ferrer's properties had neither been sold nor returned to his executors, whilst several private letters written by him in his last hours, and seized, are still in the hands of the Government.

CHAPTER XX

THE PARTING OF THE WAYS

Canalejas' Career—His Views on the Cuban Question—Raising the Standard of Anti-clericalism—"The Last Truce"—Sagasta's Fall—Maura's and Moret's Administrations—Canalejas Forms a Government—Promise and Performance—What Spain Needs.

IN his younger days Don José Canalejas y Mendez, the protagonist of the Progressive party, collaborated with such Republicans as Manuel Ruiz Zorrilla, and along with Emilio Rius, Pacheco, Garcia Alonso, and others contributed to a review which advocated change by revolutionary methods from a Monarchist to a Republican form of Government. A Republican assembly, held in a Madrid Republican club during 1881, witnessed the turning-point of his career. Many eminent leaders were present, amongst whom was Cristino Martos, formerly Minister under King Amadeo, and also in the second Republic, after the fall of the Federalists. In consequence of the irreconcilable attitude of the then Republican Party and of their own desire to participate in politics and power, a number of Republicans, headed by Martos and including Canalejas, established a Radical Monarchist group.

On the 8th of February, 1881, Canovas, who, with slight interruption had governed since December, 1874, fell, and was succeeded by Sagasta, whose accession enabled the ex-Republicans under Martos to assert

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their right to a place in the Liberal Government. But Canovas refused to admit that Sagasta represented the advanced Liberal section of the Monarchists, and, consequently, about two years later, after Sagasta had encountered many difficulties, Canovas favoured a Government of the Democratic Left, under the presidency of Posada Herrera, in which Moret, the Marquis of Sardoal, and others took office. This Ministry was formed on October 13th, 1883, and Canalejas became the Prime Minister's Under-Secretary. This was his first appearance in office. Sagasta opposed the Government's measure of Universal Suffrage—an Act which he himself passed seven years later—and overthrew the Left on January 18th, 1884.

After the death of Alfonso XII. (1885), Canalejas accepted a portfolio in one of Sagasta's Cabinets. Martos, who was Speaker, was responsible for Canalejas' nomination to the office of *Fomento*, which at that time included Agriculture, Education, Public Works, and Trade. Martos and Sagasta quarrelled, but Canalejas remained in the Cabinet, and was transferred to the Ministry of Justice, a position which he held until the fall of the Liberals on the 7th of July, 1890. During this period, the Liberals, under Sagasta, were in power as long as four years and eight months. Their term covered the period of what was known as "the Long Parliament," and the Administration was the most fruitful of modern Spanish Liberalism. The institution of the Jury, Civil Code, Civil Matrimony, the law of Associations, Military Reform, and Universal Suffrage were its principal achievements.

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Canalejas re-entered the Cabinet in 1894-1895 and, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, was responsible for financial economies and reforms which temporarily reduced rates of exchange to about 26 pesetas per £1, or 4 to 6 per cent. above the normal 25 per £ of currency at par. Sagasta's Ministry ended on March 23rd, 1895. The causes of its downfall were various, but chief amongst them were the revolution in Cuba (which broke out on February 24th, 1895), a military insurrection of Army lieutenants, and the loss of the warship *Reina Regente* in the historic waters of Trafalgar Bay. Canalejas and Maura, the latter Minister of Justice, provoked the crisis and compelled Sagasta to resign, because they considered that the relatively successful insurrection of the lieutenants damaged the prestige of the Government. Canovas then held office until his assassination at Santa Agueda, August, 1897. After his death the situation in Cuba and the Philippines grew more acute, and war with the United States seemed inevitable. Government passed through a series of vicissitudes, and "stopgap" Ministries facilitated the Colonial crisis. General Azcarraga controlled the affairs of State from the 8th of August until the 4th of October, 1897—a period of eight weeks—and Sagasta followed from the latter date until March 4th, 1898. During this interval, Canalejas retired from party politics. Apart from dissensions with the Liberals, he mourned the loss of his first wife (who died in July, 1897) and he had no share in the all-too-late concession of autonomy to Cuba. But later, accompanied by his brother-in-law, Don Alejandro St. Aubin, and his relative, Señor Vaga Seoane,

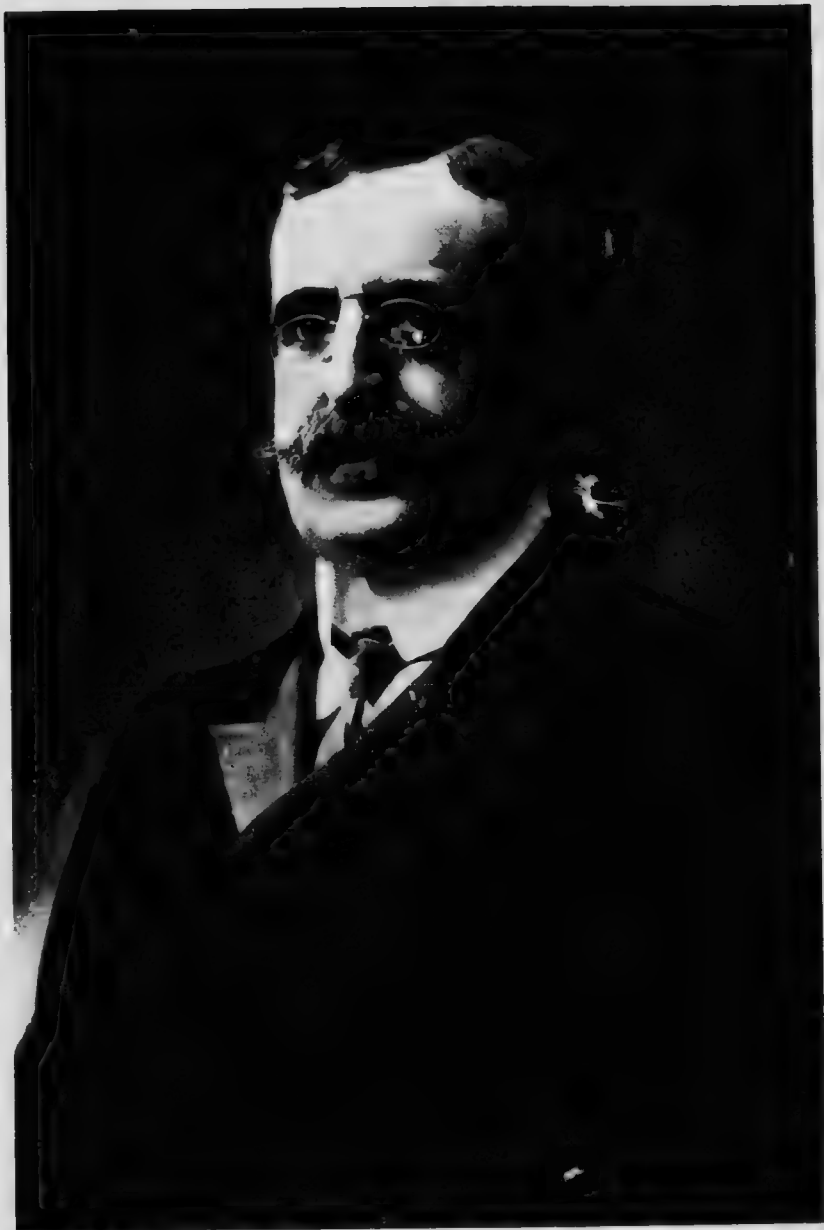


Photo: Topical

SEÑOR CANALEJAS, THE DEMOCRATIC PREMIER



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a naval officer, he sailed for Cuba, with a view to investigating the problem on the spot and reporting to his fellow-countrymen. In the United States he interviewed the Cuban revolutionary leaders, and was convinced that the island was then as good as lost to Spain. He returned home at the end of 1897, shortly before war broke out with the United States, and informed Maria Cristina and Sagasta of the opinions which his patriotism compelled him to reveal. No blame for these fatal wars can be laid upon Canalejas.

Sagasta, again in office, could not long survive the declaration of peace (Treaty of Paris, December 1st, 1898), and on March 4th, 1899, a Conservative Government was formed under Don Francisco Silvela, entrusted with the hard task of repairing the immense damage to national credit and internal administration. Silvela and Villaverde (Chancellor of the Exchequer) applied themselves resolutely to their duties, but after easing the tension by drastic economies and a reduction of the public debt, they were confronted with an internal crisis due to the immigration, on a colossal scale, of monks and nuns into the country. Silvela fell, and Azcarraga again took the reins of office, and, with incredible weakness, gave way to the demands of the Church and monastic Orders, whose power had become supreme. Amidst the threats and execrations of the clericals, Canalejas raised the standard of anti-clericalism. "*Hay que dar la batalla al Clericalismo!*" he cried. ("We must give battle to Clericalism!") Between 1899 and 1902 he constantly addressed public meetings upon the imminent peril and emphatically demonstrated that

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upon this question he was a Liberal who was in earnest.

Democratic opinion supported Canalejas energetically, and a famous speech of the popular novelist, Blasco Ibañez, and the representation of Perez Galdos' anti-clerical drama, "Electra," were the occasion of delirious demonstrations. General Azcarraga's fall was inevitable; nor did the timid proposals of the new Conservative Cabinet under Villaverde conciliate the mood of the people, and accordingly the Liberals assumed office on March 6th, 1901, with Sagasta walking victoriously on the left arm of "Electra," sworn to regulate the monastic question by law, and thus frustrate revolution.

But it was the old story. A year passed by and the Liberals did nothing but negotiate. Sagasta—the Sagasta of always, the eternal Mussulman who left everything till To-morrow—forgot his promises, and vowed in vain to maintain liberty. As the anti-clerical movement showed no sign of abating, Canalejas was called in to pacify public opinion.

Not long before this he had contributed his celebrated article, "The Last Truce," to the review entitled *Nuestro Tiempo*. In the course of this deliverance he explained the phrase he had used in his speech of December 15th, 1900: "We must nationalise the Monarchy"; and since the article was assigned the importance of a State document, certain extracts from it will be acceptable:—

"Spain cannot permit delay," wrote the statesman; "we must not lose time in experiments, nor have we sufficient force to sanction new departures into the field of ideals.

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"Who would declare another war with the Carlists and combat Regionalist and Separatist risings? How can the Republicans give a pledge that they are united, so that the solution may be national, not only for the Monarchy, but for themselves, when they are divided into Unitarians, Federalists, Radicals, and Conservatives?"

"And, admitting that the lesser evil is to conserve what is established, we must address ourselves to the task, and nationalise it, in order that no useful energy shall remain outside of the Monarchy. If the mountain will not come to us we must go to the mountain. It is certain the Republicans will not make the evolution towards the Monarchy unless they know that it will bear fruit, and that the Monarchy will try to alter and expand so as to allow every Spaniard to place himself under it without loss of honour and dignity.

"Since all this is comprised within the formula of a *democratic King*, it is argued that this means that the Sovereign belongs to one party only. But are we so blind as not to see that the strongest monarchies in Europe have been transformed by becoming democratic? The British monarchy is a *royal republic*, the Italian monarchy is a *democracy with a crown*, since the House of Savoy represents the right of revolution. The German Empire relies upon popular consent under a general suffrage; and, owing to the victory of 1870, the Belgian monarchy is a stable popular magistracy at the head of a free country. Parliament and public opinion are everywhere the real Sovereign, and the King is the permanent bond of union in the hearts of millions of human beings."

Respecting the social question, Canalejas wrote:—

"The Liberal Party must, in our judgment, take up a Socialistic policy. . . . It is not sufficient to promulgate laws assigning the utmost limits that may be given to the subsistence of the working-classes, because their problem is, principally, that of education—the empire of ethics in social life. It is not enough to dictate penalties against employers

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who exploit human energy as though it were a machine, but it is necessary to incorporate another evolutionary conception of rule in our laws. . . .

"It is useless to fly to a Socialism of occasion and the artifice of a Napoleon III., whose Cæsarism affected to pardon and assuage by the offer of bread to the workers. We must follow the new paths which Progress has traced for Humanity and which History has pursued. Definitely stated, our task is perennial in the sense of stripping power of its feudal attributes and clothing authority with the sentiment of democracy.

"Socialism is not only a doctrine, a system and procedure. It is this, and much more—it is *civilisation*. To march away from it and to decline legally to prepare for necessary solutions would only attract the lightning of revolution, which, in one form or another, either by force or right, must be consummated."

This essay made a profound impression upon public opinion. Producing a crisis in the Government, it compelled Sagasta to rely upon Canalejas as a guarantee to Liberalism that some great progressive measure would be undertaken.

Sagasta, conscious that something must be done to meet Liberal criticism and allay Liberal indignation at his policy of delay, invited Moret, Canalejas, General Weyler, and the Marquis de la Vega de Armijo to a private meeting at his house to discuss the clerical problem. Their "Pacto-Programa" resolved: (1) That the Decree of September 19th, 1901, requiring all religious communities to register under penalty of dissolution shall not be annulled; (2) that in order to prepare for the carrying out of the Decree provincial authorities shall be instructed to obtain from the Minister of Justice all particulars and titles pertaining

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to the legal existence of religious Associations, and that the Decree shall then be enforced with due respect to the Concordat Orders and the pending negotiations with Rome ; (3) that as regards the latter, and so that the exercise of the right of Association shall be definitely regulated in every class of social life, and especially as concerns the working-classes, an organic law (governing the right of Association in its public, private, and economic aspects), shall be submitted to Parliament ; (4) that existing negotiations shall be accelerated in respect of the transformation (and reduction) of the ecclesiastical Budget—the State provision and maintenance of the clergy, etc.

The compact, signed by the Marqués de la Vega, General Weyler, Moret, and Canalejas, was delivered to Sagasta, who thereupon formed a new Cabinet in which these politicians accepted portfolios. Naturally the Clericals were alarmed, Rome renewed her campaign, and the Papal Nuncio interviewed Moret, the Home Secretary, with the most gratifying results to the Vatican, for a Royal Order issued by Moret on the 9th of April, 1902, recognised the legality of all religious Orders !

This Decree simply gave all religious Orders *carte blanche*, and Government, within seven months, had performed a shameless *volte-face*. The bases of agreement specified in Moret's Order of April 9th were the outcome either of childlike simplicity or colossal stupidity. They were : (1) Religious communities not hitherto authorised shall not be obliged to comply with any other formality but that of registration, which shall not h.

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refused; (2) this proviso having been observed, the religious communities shall be considered as recognised by Government. Accordingly the Decree absolutely ignored the fact that the Law of Associations was already the law of the land, and definitely affected every religious body except the two Concordat Orders. Of course Moret's decree was illegal. But it occasioned a tremendous outcry and put Canalejas in a false position.

From his place in the House, however, he declared upon his word of honour that a revised Law of Association would be presented without previous consultation or negotiation with Rome, and the 27th of May, 1902, was fixed as the date when it should be submitted. The draughting Committee consisted of Señor Moret (Home Secretary), Señor Montilla (Minister of Justice), the Duke of Almodovar (Secretary for Foreign Affairs), and Canalejas (Minister of Public Works), and all four were soon in agreement as to the anti-clerical sense of the proposed measure.

According to Luis Morote ("Los Frailes en España") the following were the principal features of the measure: (1) That no religious Congregation or Order shall be formed without express authority by law passed by the Cortes; (2) that no petition shall be considered from any community not approved by the Holy See by pontifical declarations, provided that no Bull or Papal decree has been issued prohibiting such community (this with reference to the Jesuits); (3) that no person under age shall join a community or religious Congregation; (4) that the State protect the rights

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of members of Congregations who desired to break their vows, and that, to this end, facilities would be given for excoisteration; (5) that if education be amongst the objects of a community it shall be indispensable for the members of such community to possess the necessary qualifications which the law demands from other citizens (this would have put a stop to private education by religious Congregations); (6) that communities engaged in industry or commerce shall pay similar taxes to those paid by trading firms and companies; (7) that Congregations shall not acquire other property than the buildings in which they were established, and all personal property of an association shall be invested in shares or stock in the names of persons (to prevent concealment of wealth); (8) that no legacies or donations shall be received save under the provisions of the civil law, and that such donations not strictly necessary for the functions of the association shall be alienated; (9) that associations consisting of a majority of foreigners shall be dissolved, as constituting a danger to the State; (10) that the Minister of Justice, with the sanction of the Cabinet, shall be entitled to refuse his authority to or to close any religious house, monastery, or convent; (11) that all donations and legacies obtained by undue influence by intermediate agents shall be cancelled (with reference to the interference of priests and nuns); (12) that the civil authority shall be free at any time to enter convents and monasteries, including those Congregations comprised in the Concordat, which shall be subject to the law; (13) that, without prejudice to the future, in order to found a community for which

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legislative sanction is required, the Cabinet shall proceed to revise all the authorisations granted to religious communities up to the present date.

Within the scope of these proposals, which emanated chiefly from Canalejas, Government could expel nearly all the friars established in Spain. The principle of the suggested law was approved, but it was decided not to bring it before Parliament. Thereupon Canalejas, preferring honour and self-respect to personal convenience and office, resigned (May 29th, 1902), and next day, in violation of the third clause of the pact-programme, a Decree was issued dissolving Parliament.

The Cortes reassembled in October, and, in the interval, the new Law of Association was buried. The Liberals fell in December, 1902, because, during nearly two years, they had declined battle with clericalism. Yet this was the chief, if not the sole, reason for their election to office.

When Maura came into power in December, 1903, he entered into negotiations with Rome for a new Concordat based upon the Moret *modus vivendi* of the previous year. The main points of this Convention, which was signed by the Vatican and the Government on June 19th, 1904, may be summarised: Ordinary taxation was secured, but the Orders were exempted from special taxes; existing convents and houses of Orders (many of which, by the way, were illegal associations) were perpetuated and maintained, and allowed to amass property and estate and receive legacies without interference from the law; sanction for new Orders might be granted by bishops under previous

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arrangement with Government (the State thus yielding its supreme authority and admitting Rome's equality); convents of twelve persons or under were to be suppressed and their properties placed at the free disposal of the Superiors (those the Church wished to keep, it should be noted, had previously been levelled up to the requisite numbers, and thus all the exemptions desired by Rome for those Orders which were a source of wealth were secured); the wealthy Escolapians were to retain their money and prestige, and non-monastic associations, instead of being abolished, had only to register under the Law of Associations; all foreign Orders established after the "flight" from France and the Philippines were to continue unmolested; the ingress of further monastic bodies was not prohibited, but foreigners could not form religious Orders without first becoming naturalised, and the right of inspection went by the board. No wonder Rome was satisfied. Over 70,000 monks and nuns were given their charter of liberty to carry on operations at the expense of the people.

It is not surprising that Maura was turned out of office. After a prolonged and passionate debate, his wonderful Concordat passed the Senate on the last day of November, 1904, but inasmuch as it was not accepted by both Houses it never acquired legal value. However, neither of the succeeding Liberal Administrations, first under Montero Rios and then under Moret, made any serious attempt either to expel the monks or nuns or to reduce their number, and it was not until the formation of General Lopez Dominguez'

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democratic Cabinet that anti-clericalism is really grappled with again.

On October 25th, 1906, Don Bernabé Davila, the Home Secretary, read his proposed Law of Association from the tribune of the Cortes. The concluding words of an eloquent justification of the right of the State to concern itself intimately with religious problems raised by a Church that claimed to be national declared that "Respect for the subject-matter of the 1851 Concordat has nothing in common with the prerogatives of State. These are sustained by every Catholic country, and were maintained with particular energy by Spanish monarchs, who set an example of piety and love towards the Church." With slight variations, the Bill was a revival of Canalejas' proposals (1902) and those of Waldeck-Rousseau in France (1901). Excepting the colleges of Franciscans for Missions in Morocco and Palestine, the Sons of the Immaculate Heart of Mary for Missions in Fernando Po, the two Concordat Orders, the Pious Schools in connection with the Escolapian Fathers, and those of the Sisters of Charity and Conceptionist Sisters in Spanish possessions—the two last-named being female communities—all other Orders came within the provisions of the measure. Canalejas was Speaker, and supported the Bill, as also did his *protégé*, Professor Amalio Jimeno.

Opposition came from both the Liberal and Republican parties. Certain of the Republican Right declared that they could not favour expulsion of the friars, preferring Moret's Decree of freedom for conventual and monastic Orders. Unable to lead the serried forces of

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a solid Left, Lopez Dominguez and Bernabé Davila—"le petit Combes," as they nicknamed him—had to face antagonism from the Rights of all parties. Disunion among the Progressives rallied the forces of reaction and clericalism. Nay, more, Señor Moret, as usual, finding his opportunity in the Government's extremity, created the crisis *del papelito*—the crisis of "the letter." On the 30th of November, before it became publicly known, he had written to the King, stating that, since the Liberals were not themselves agreed on the question, it was impossible the Government should continue in office. By this manœuvre he was entrusted with the formation of a Ministry which, however, lasted only four days—from November 30th to December 4th, 1906, the new Liberal Ministry of the Marqués de la Vega de Armijo being announced on the latter date! Moret had neither expected nor intended that his hand should appear, but Señor Alba, his secretary, boasting that he had taken the "letter" to the King, the fact readily leaked out, and publicity in the Press rendered Moret's position untenable. Clericalism, nevertheless, was still in the ascendancy, for though the Marqués de la Vega formulated a modified Law of Associations, within the short space of two months after the introduction of Lopez Dominguez' Bill Maura formed a Conservative Ministry (January 25th, 1907), and the last hopes of an adequate measure were indefinitely postponed. During the whole of his rule, which terminated on October 21st, 1909, Maura made no endeavour to pass his 1904 Concordat into law. But the Liberals had not yet learned wisdom. No sooner had Maura fallen than former

jealousies and quarrels were resumed. The King consulted Dominguez, Montero Rios, Canalejas, and Moret, and the three first-named, with the Count of Romanones, agreed that Moret should be called to form the Government on the understanding that the groups of these leaders should be fairly represented in the Cabinet and the Cortes. Notwithstanding this, Moret pursued his own way and proceeded to arrange seats and constituencies without regard to the claims of the other Liberal leaders and their supporters. Ominous interviews took place between the various party chiefs and sections, and a solution became imperative before the King could authorise Moret to go on with his election making.

On February 3rd, 1910, *La Mañana*, undoubtedly inspired by one of the discarded leaders, attributed these words to his Majesty: "The Liberal Party must govern, not only by assuming office, but by accrediting their position with laws and reforms of the character that is expected of them. They must be united, and I wish them a long and useful career. Consistently with my duty as a constitutional King, I am prepared to accept their work and to support them, in order that their labours may adequately respond to a high sense of government and the exigencies of the country." Finally the King called upon Canalejas to form a new Liberal Cabinet which, on the 9th of February, was announced as follows: President, Canalejas; Ministry of State, Garcia Prieto; Justice, Ruiz Valarino; Exchequer, Cobian; Home Secretary, Merino; War, General Aznar; Marine, Miranda; Education, Count

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Romanones; and Public Works, Calbeton. Three months later a General Election was held (May 8th, 1910), and resulted in the return of a Liberal Canalejista majority. There were 230 Liberals, 109 Conservatives, 45 Republicans (including 12 Radicals), 16 Carlists and Integralists, 5 Independents, and 1 Socialist-Republican. The Senatorial elections, a fortnight later, gave Canalejas a working majority in the Upper House.

Canalejas had not held Cabinet rank since 1902, although for a short time he was Speaker of the Cortes, in 1906. During 1905-1906 he was President of the Academy of Legislation and Jurisprudence. No Premier since Sagasta in 1885 has awakened such interest and expectation. The popular hope and confidence are that he will rise to the height of his great occasion and faithfully realise his own ideals and fulfil his self-imposed mission: "*Hay que Europeizar á España*" ("We must Europeanise Spain"). His programme of industrial and social legislation embraces many measures, among which may be enumerated freedom of strikes and organisation of trade unionism; compulsory arbitration and regulation of contract between masters and men, including improved administration of the law of compensation for accidents; regulation of the labour of women and children; reform of factory inspection; readjustment of working hours; a Government department systematically to supervise and co-ordinate existing laws; amendment of the law of Sunday rest; compulsory insurance both for employers and employed (sickness, accident, unemployment, and compensation); a voluntary State-aided system of

old-age pensions; encouragement of co-operative societies; reform of taxation upon a graduated system; partial or complete abolition of food taxes and reduction of tariffs; improvement of national education; the formation of Labour Exchanges; and reform of the foral system of Galicia and the *latifundios* of Andalusia and elsewhere. Among what may be called his pet projects are the extension of municipal government and the abolition of compulsory military service.

It may be said that Canalejas has scarcely merited the confidence reposed in him. The religious question is in abeyance for the present. His Decree allowing Dissenters to exhibit sign-boards and notices upon the exterior walls of their churches was a welcome concession which, naturally, met with great opposition from the clericals. The Oaths Bill, which allows secular forms of declaration to be made, is another useful measure, but the *Ley del Candado* is distinctly disappointing. Existing statutes or decrees are sufficient to enable Government or its Minister of Justice to prevent the foundation or admission of further monastic Orders or Congregations, without recourse to additional legislation, whilst the acceptance of an amendment making the law invalid if a new Law of Association fails to pass within two years, is a serious mistake. Negotiations with Rome were suspended in July, 1910, but the Papal Nuncio still resides in Madrid, and receives his State-paid salary of £1,200 per annum.

Many prolonged and tenacious strikes and lock-outs during 1910, especially those of Bilbao, Barcelona, and Sabadell, are indicative of increasing social unrest.

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Well-meant intervention by the Home Secretary, and severe criticism by the Government, failed to secure moderate concessions, and, following the first signs of active mischief by hungry and desperate men, public authorities were permitted to place themselves on the side of the employers, and, by wholesale arrest of leaders and strike committees, to end the strikes. The exercise of steady pressure by Government and compulsory settlement of genuine grievances would have strengthened public opinion and obviated much Republican criticism.

The Budget for 1911, providing for an estimated income of £45,258,248, and an estimated expenditure of £41,834,601, presents one or two bright features. Although Canalejas has not attempted to reduce the ordinary Church grants of about £1,700,000, he has improved the scale of death duties, strengthened and increased the graduated income-tax, whilst reducing the sugar-tax to about 25s. per cwt. The salaries of low-paid Civil Servants such as Civil Guards, Customs officers, and local judges are slightly increased. The valuation and assessment of land will, in future, correspond with its productive capacity, whilst local bodies are to receive rebates upon the taxation of food, and weights and measures, and woods and forests returns. Additional grants for scientific equipment, increase of schoolmasters' salaries, provision for industrial schools and for better mental training of the inspectorate and staff, are steps in the right direction. Whilst nothing heroic is attempted in Canalejas' first Budget, it shows some advance upon its predecessors, although addi-

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tional taxation upon the poor colony of Fernando Po is regrettable.

The Military Service Act will strengthen Army organisation, make exemption more difficult, and, if carried out, should conciliate anti-clericals by enforcing liability upon monastic probationers. The new Mines Act will improve working conditions, and shorten excessive hours, whilst a measure prohibiting female night work in mines and factories, and generally limiting hours to ten per day, is a welcome innovation in Liberal legislation, though weakened by much "contracting out." Payment of members is also promised.

Canalejas expects to continue in office for "five years," and in that event he has ample time to justify his golden promises, which include a Divorce Bill and the abolition of capital punishment. There are signs that he is yielding before difficulty and opposition; but for the good of his country and the avoidance of revolt, it is hoped that he will persist and fulfil his repeated declarations. A settlement of difficulties with Morocco has allayed apprehensions of war abroad, and concentrated attention on the internal condition of the country.

Spain is at last waking up from her long sleep. Her ancient glory as a mighty empire is gone, never to be restored. But long years of bloody strife and tyranny have not destroyed her soul, though they may have bruised her limbs and bewildered her brain. How shall she rise and walk along the road that leads to better things?

Thought must first be free, and liberty become a fact. Rome stands in the path, and must be put in

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her proper place beneath the State. Wholesale banishment of monks is not the only way. The Church must submit to secular rule, and the national conscience must be allowed the scope and sway which belong to it by inalienable right.

Education is imperative. It is the source of light, the impulse to hope, and a signpost on the path to happiness. At present passion often rules, and judgment has too little influence. Spain is the Garden of the West, but by neglect it has become to a great extent a desert. The land must be made free to the cultivator. Loans must be plentifully provided for irrigation, roads and railways. Then Spain will supply her own needs, and prosperity will abound. To-day she is poor, and everyone complains. The wealthy will not work, the middle classes seek useless occupations, the labourers sail to foreign lands. Regeneration is not the work of one year, nor of five, nor is it necessary that sunny Spain shall be infected with the "nerve disease" of Northern Britain. But if the shackles are removed from industry, if the rich out of their plenitude bear their proper share of national taxation so that the poor may not be crushed beneath the burden, if the servants of the State receive a living wage, if politics cease to be a mere question between the "ins" and "outs," and liberty becomes a reality, Spain may yet be a land of happy men and women.

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